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A MEMOIR OF
ARCHBISHOP MARKHAM

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
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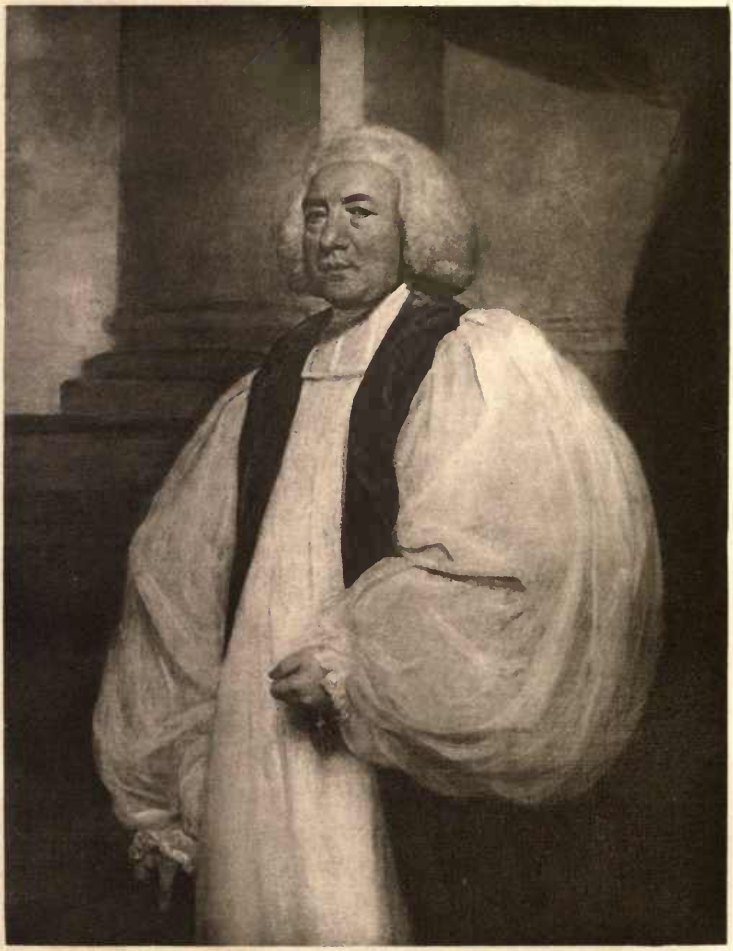

Archbishop Markham,

from the painting in the Hall of Christ Church.

Walter L. Colls, Pt. Sc.

A

MEMOIR

OF

ARCHBISHOP MARKHAM

1719—1807

BY

HIS GREAT-GRANDSON

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.

Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?
HOR.

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CHAPTER I

LINEAGE.—EARLY YEARS, EDUCATION AT WESTMINSTER AND CHRIST CHURCH

THERE have been many men of eminence, in the different walks of life, whose lives have been passed in the faithful discharge of important duties, but whose biographies need not be published in the interests of literature or of posterity. Their memories may have been fondly cherished by relations and friends, the traditions of their excellence may be piously preserved by descendants, the story of their lives even may have been written for private circulation; but those who are interested, if they are wise, are well contented, as a general rule, that the revered object of their affections should be allowed to rest in peace. There are reasons, sometimes, for digressing from this rule; and in the present instance the reasons will be understood by the reader who peruses this memoir.

No memory was more fondly cherished than that of Archbishop Markham; not only by descendants, but also by a host of friends and of the inheritors of their traditions. The last survivor among his children died nearly forty years ago. The Marchioness of Hertford, the last out of seventy grandchildren, died in 1904 The affectionate memories are fading: but they are preserved by recollections of conversations with people

of an older generation, by letters, journals, and memo randa. The memory of this good man, who did his life-work ably and well, is still cherished; and many would have been glad that it should have been left undisturbed. But this has not been so. Consequently it has seemed to be a duty to bring together a biographical sketch of the Archbishop, in order that those who feel any interest in the matter may have the means of knowing the truth, and of judging for themselves, when they meet with detraction in other publications. His merits will be taken in the balance, and those especially, who have succeeded to the great posts which he occupied, will be able to hold his memory in reverence. Yet if he had been allowed to rest in peace this memoir would never have been written.

Archbishop Markham came of an ancient Nottinghamshire stock, seated for many generations at Cotham and Markham in that county. The last possessor in the time of James I was 'a fatal unthrift', to use Thoroton's phrase[1]. All his estates were sold at his death, and Sir Robert Markham's sons had to shift for themselves. The two eldest had no issue. Robert, the second, was a very gallant officer who served under Sir John Burrough in the Palatinate, at the siege of Frankenthal, and at the Isle of Rhé, when he was wounded. The third, who was named Daniel[2], had a son of the same name[3] who

[1] Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1st ed., 1677), p. 176.

[2] Ibid.; MS. marked Vincents, Notts., No. 117, pp. 122, 123, in Heralds' College.

[3] Memorandum by Major William Markham: that his father

was a volunteer in the fleet of James, Duke of York. After many vicissitudes in a long military life, he settled at Kilkenny and married a daughter of a Mr. Fennel of Cappagh. Their son, William Markham, father of the Archbishop, was educated by Dr. W. Andrewes[1], an Old Westminster who had been brought to Ireland by the Duke of Ormonde. William was entered of Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of twenty, in December, 1706[2]. In 1711 he obtained an ensign's commission, and served under Stanhope in Spain. Returning home, he married his distant cousin Elizabeth, said to have been the daughter of George Markham, of Worksop Lodge, on September 25, 1716. Soon afterwards he obtained a barrack appointment at Kinsale. Here his three sons were born: William (the future Archbishop) in 1719, baptized on April 9; George in 1723; and Enoch in 1727[3]. The mother died on July 17, 1732, when William was only thirteen.

was the son of Daniel, third son of Sir Robert Markham of Cotham. Memorandum of information taken from Dr. William Markham, by Sir Isaac Herd, on November 18, 1783, in the Heralds' College: 'His Grace is the son of Major William Markham and grandson of Daniel Markham, who was also an officer in the army. The former was shipwrecked on an island between Halifax and the Isle of Sables, when he lost all his family papers. The Archbishop derives his descent from the Markhams of Cotham.'

[1] King's Scholar at Westminster: elected to Christ Church, 1695: LL.D. Master of the free school at Kilkenny.

[2] Entry Dec. 22, 1706: 'William Markham born at Kilkenny, 1686, son of Daniel Markham an officer in the Army.'

[3] Entered in the Kinsale parish register as children of Lieutenant Markham.

The barrack-master then had a lieutenant's commission[1]. His maternal uncle, Mr. Fennel of Cappagh, had no children. His nearest relations were the children of his sisters, and of these he had always shown a preference for Lieutenant Markham. He had more than hinted that he intended to make this nephew the heir to the Cappagh estate. One day Mr. Fennel sent for his nephew, but it so happened that Lieutenant Markham was attacked by an illness which lasted about three weeks, almost the only one he ever had. As soon as he was well enough to travel he set out on horseback with his eldest son, the boy accompanying him at the express desire of Mr. Fennel. When they came to the house they were told that their uncle had been buried a few days before. They found that a will had been produced leaving the estate elsewhere. No one doubted that this will was forged, and all his friends wished Lieutenant Markham to prosecute a suit to set it aside. This he, from the first, declined to do. The only remark he made to his son at the time was: 'Well, my boy, you must work the harder for it. Perhaps it is all the better for you.'

The future Archbishop had pleasant memories of the Kinsale days. Once, in 1798, when his daughter-in-law[2] read him a letter from his naval son, then in command of the *Centaur* on the Irish coast, who mentioned how he feasted upon turbot caught by his own people, the old man said: 'Maria, do you know, what you have been telling me of Jack has brought to mind a train of

[1] Dated February 16, 1716.

[2] Maria, sister of Lord Dynevor, wife of the Archbishop's second son John, then Captain R. N., afterwards Admiral.

thought. When I was a little boy I remember going on a fishing party with my father to where Jack now is. We spread our tablecloth on the rocks, boiled our fish, and it was very pleasant.'

After the death of his wife, Lieutenant Markham, who was himself an excellent classical scholar, devoted himself to the education of his eldest son. Finding more than ordinary talent in him, he determined to resign his appointment at Kinsale and to take the boy, as a home boarder, to Westminster School. He had early imbibed a notion from his old master, Dr. Andrewes, that that school afforded the most favourable opening for merit, without influence, to advance itself. Leaving the two younger boys with a grandmother, he came up to London and took lodgings in Vine Street, on the south side of St. John's Churchyard, at the back of Westminster Abbey, with his son Billy.

Lieutenant Markham was resolved that his son, the heir to an ancient and honourable lineage, should have the best education that England could supply. His means were very small. With his half-pay he had barely £100 a year. But he strove by honest exertions to make up the deficiencies, so as to further the great object of his life, which was the education of his eldest son. As the half-pay officer wrote a very good hand, and was acquainted with two eminent solicitors of extensive practice, he wrote and engrossed for them, being more particularly employed on those papers where honour and secrecy were essential. He was a tasteful artist, and he painted fan-mounts, which he sold in disguise in the streets. He thus struggled manfully against poverty.

Billy was entered as a Scholar at Westminster on June 21, 1733, boarding with his father in Vine Street. The head master was Dr. Nicoll, the under master Dr. Johnson, afterwards Bishop of Worcester. In the old pocket-books there are copies of letters from Dr. Nicoll reporting Billy's satisfactory progress and exemplary conduct, with his father's grateful but stately replies. Here, too, are the recipes to cure his son's ailments, and the bills for his clothes which were so hard to pay.

Lieutenant Markham had a neighbour in Vine Street with whom he became intimate, in the person of the Rev. Charles Churchill, Lecturer in St. John's Church and Rector of Rainham in Essex. He was the father of the more famous Charles Churchill the poet.

Meanwhile Billy soon gained the notice of his masters by his quickness and intelligence. Both Dr. Nicoll and Dr. Johnson were men of learning and discernment, and the poet Cowper, who was at Westminster from 1741 to 1749, bore high testimony to the qualities of Dr. Nicoll as a teacher. Father and son were busy all day, but the toil of the old officer was a labour of love. He was cheered by the appearance of his bright and clever boy at meal-times, and when they passed the evenings together, and chairs were drawn to the fire, the lad was entranced by many an old campaigning story. Day by day the father's hopes were strengthened, and his confidence in the brilliant young scholar's future was increased. Cricket was in its infancy, but young Markham was a good oarsman, and a champion in the fighting-green[1].

[1] Notes in his father's pocket-book.

Having got head into college, William Markham was not a fag, but what was called 'liberty boy'. Among his seniors were Lawrence Brodrick, a nephew of the first Lord Midleton; George Jubb, an intimate friend in after life; Sir Sidney Evelyn, of Wotton; Samuel Dickens, afterwards Professor of Greek; and James Hay, the brother of Archbishop Drummond. Among boys of his own standing were Smallwell, afterwards a bishop and a benefactor of the school; Devisme, the diplomatist; Augustus Keppel, the future admiral; Granville Leveson Gower, the future Marquis of Stafford; Francklin, the translator of Sophocles; Edmund Burton, the accomplished classical scholar; Joseph Wilcocks, the amiable and kind-hearted son of the Dean; Morice, the grandson of Dean Atterbury; Thomas Sheridan, father of the better-known Richard Brinsley Sheridan; and 'Gilly' Williams (the friend of George Selwyn and Horace Walpole), so celebrated for his wit and agreeable conversation.

In June, 1734, William Markham had come out first in the challenges. The new dormitory was begun in 1722, and the King's Scholars had got into it in 1732. William then had to leave his father's lodgings and live in college, so that they could not see so much of each other. His father was a stanch Whig and admirer of the glorious Revolution, and in these principles the son was brought up. Lieutenant Markham no longer felt anxiety for his boy. He threw aside the drudgery of copying for solicitors and resumed his career in the army, becoming a captain on April 25, 1742, and a major on December 10, 1746. He saw

active service in North America, and built the first house when Halifax (Nova Scotia) was founded by Colonel Cornwallis in 1749.

William Markham would have been captain of the school had not a boy named Joshua Hill stayed over from the previous election. In June, 1738, he was elected to a studentship at Christ Church. He matriculated there on June 6, 1738. At Oxford he continued to pursue his studies with unabated ardour, and was considered one of the best scholars of his day. He obtained the first of three prizes, the second being gained by his old schoolfellow, Joseph Wilcocks, only son of the Dean of Westminster. Young Markham excelled in Latin versification. Several of his compositions were published in the *Carmina Quadragesimalia*[1]. Some were afterwards collected and printed by the late Archdeacon Wrangham. His elegant Latin version of Shakespeare's 'Seven Ages of Man' was much admired, and his 'Judicium Paridis[2]' was highly esteemed by competent judges. Friends with classical tastes, such as Mr. Ford, the Bampton Lecturer[3], and Mr. Hewett, of Shire Oaks, cherished many of his compositions among

[1] The second volume, published in 1748, contains thirty-three pieces by William Markham. The 'Seven Ages of Man' occurs at ii, p. 69, as 'an motus circularis sit maxime naturalis?'

[2] Published in the *Musae Anglicanae*, ii, p. 277.

[3] Markham's Latin version of the 'Seven Ages of Man' was written on the fly-leaf of a Shakespeare which was for many years the companion of the Rev. Thomas Ford of Christ Church, Rector of Melton Mowbray, Bampton Lecturer, and a constant contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He was uncle of M. Richard Ford, author of the *Handbook of Spain*.

their most valued treasures[1]. But the author himself produced them with such facility that he never thought them of any value.

W. Markham's Latin version of Shakespeare's 'Seven Ages of Man'.

Infantem vagitu inopi lactantia aventem
Ubera nutricis blanda loquela fovet:
Iamque scholam it, gemitus inter lacrymasque sequaces,
Et testudineas ducit eundo moras.
Mox cantus iterat miseros nocturnus amator,
Et queritur saevas pervigil ante fores:
Tum plenos numerans maturis viribus annos
Destituit patrium laudis amore focum.
Castra amens sequitur, vitreoque inservit honori,
Lethalis quamquam fulminet ante tubus.
Tum mira accendit gravitas, ventrisque rotundi
Tardum mollia agens otia pascit onus:
Laudare antiquos mores et facta iuventae
Mille per ambages dinumerare iuvat:

[1] In a letter from Archdeacon Robert Markham to his father the Archbishop, dated October 3, 1795, he wrote:—

'I slept at Shire Oaks last night and before supper read over several of your Christ Church productions, which Mr. Hewett has preserved and sets a great value upon. I have copied one which you may very probably have forgotten, and I therefore send it thinking it may call back some pleasing recollections to your mind.'

John Thornhaugh of Osberton assumed the name of Hewett, on succeeding to the estate of Shire Oaks near Worksop. He married a sister of Sir George Saville, and his daughter and coheiress married Mr. F. Foljambe of Aldwark, who thus became owner of Osberton.

Inde iter occiduae carpens declive senectae,
Ora movet tremulis emaciata sonis.
Delirus tandem et fatuus, gyrumque recursum
Claudit, ut incepto prodiit orbe, Puer.

W. MARKHAM (aet. 23),
Carmina Quadragesimalia, ii. 69.

William Markham graduated B.A. on May 13, 1742; M.A. on March 28, 1745; and proceeded D.C.L. on Nov. 24, 1752. Out of his small income, while at Oxford, he placed a distant kinsman at Christ Church, maintained him there, and made provision for him afterwards. He repeated this in the case of a young undergraduate who was suddenly reduced to poverty. He had just then set up two horses, but he gave them up as well as other indulgences, and spent the money thus saved in supporting his friends. After taking his degree he continued to reside at Oxford, undecided what career he should follow.

The bent of his genius inclined him to his father's profession. He visited Italy and France during this time, going over those classic spots, on which he had often dwelt in imagination, with intense interest and pleasure; and he extended one of his journeys as far as Venice.

During his residence at Oxford as a post-graduate, for the greater part of the time (from taking his degree in 1745 to 1753) William Markham was a successful tutor at Christ Church. Many of the Latin themes written by himself and his pupils in those days have been preserved, as well as some English verses of his own—one on Queen Elizabeth, another on the home of his friend, Mr. G. Rice, in Wales.

CHAPTER II

HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER. — DEAN OF ROCHESTER.—AFFECTION FOR EDMUND BURKE.—DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH. — BISHOP OF CHESTER.— MISUNDERSTANDING WITH BURKE. — PRECEPTOR TO THE PRINCES.—ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

In the year 1753[1] William Markham's future was decided. He was offered the distinguished post of head master of Westminster School, in succession to his own old master, Dr. Nicoll. After some hesitation he was induced to accept this responsible position. He was then ordained. His age was thirty-four. In 1755 he was appointed a chaplain to George II.

For the eleven following years, from 1753 to 1764, Dr. Markham was head master, residing in the house in Dean's Yard.

The western outer wall of the Abbey buildings at Westminster is of great antiquity. In former times it was lower, and broken by massive square towers, with vaulted arches under them, leading to the cloisters, the misericorde and the refectory, and to the old dormitory of the monks, which since 1599 has been the school. In days of old, the grated narrow windows in

[1] In 1753 the British Museum was founded. The Prime Minister, Henry Pelham, died in January, 1754, and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Newcastle.

the old wall gave light to guest-rooms, store-rooms, and the buttery in rear of the great refectory. From Queen Elizabeth's time these buildings have been converted into canons' houses, and the part between two of the ancient groined and vaulted gateways, and over one of them, became the residence of the head master. The hall, the study, and the dining-room containing a series of portraits of the head masters of Westminster, are on the ground floor. Above are the drawing-rooms and a small sitting-room over the archway, with a curious old turret stair.

Here Dr. Markham lived as a bachelor for six years, occupied in the work of the school: and here he entertained his friends. His greatest and most intimate friend was the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice[1]. Others were William Burke and his cousin Edmund. Sir Joshua Reynolds also mentions dining in Dean's Yard on several occasions. But it is in his cordial encouragement of young men, still unknown and with their names to make, that Dr. Markham's goodness of heart is best shown. When Edmund Burke first came to London, young, proud, and unknown, he was introduced to Dr. Markham by the head master's old friend, William Burke. Dr. Markham befriended the young Irishman, and warmly encouraged him in his early efforts. The acquaintance ripened into friendship

[1] In his will the Earl of Mansfield left a Homer (folio, 4 vols.) to Dr. Markham: 'whose friendship I have enjoyed through life; for Homer was our favourite author.' It is now at Morland. Lord Mansfield became Lord Chief Justice in 1756. He had been Attorney-General since 1754.

and intimacy. It commenced in 1753. The Essay on *The Sublime and Beautiful* (1756) was corrected throughout by Dr. Markham before going to press, and revised by him afterwards[1]. He also assisted and advised Burke in his work connected with the *Annual Register*. In 1758 Dr. Markham was godfather to Edmund Burke's only son Richard. In 1759 Dr. Markham used all the interest he possessed to obtain the consulship at Madrid for his young friend, and in a letter to the Duchess of Queensberry[2], asking for her interest with Mr. Pitt, he spoke in terms of the strongest affection and esteem of Edmund Burke.

'Westminster, September 25, 1759.

'MADAM,

'I must entreat your Grace's pardon for the trouble I am giving you. It is in behalf of a very deserving person with whom I have long had a close friendship. My acquaintance with your Grace's sentiments and feelings persuades me that I shall not want advocates when I have told you my story.

'The consulship at Madrid has been vacant these eight months. Lord Bristol is writing pressing letters to have a consul appointed. I am informed that the office lies so much out of the road of common applica-

[1] Letter from Captain Markham to his wife, dated February 21, 1800. Captain Markham had seen the original manuscript.

[2] This was Lady Catherine Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Rochester and Clarendon, married to the Duke of Queensberry and Dover in 1720. The Duke died in 1778, aged 80. The Duchess had died in 1777. The Duchess was the famous beauty celebrated by Prior. She was the friend and patron of Gay.

tions that it has not yet been asked for, that it has been offered to some who have declined it, and that Mr. Pitt is actually at a loss for a proper person to appoint to it. This has encouraged my friend to think of it. It so happens that those who might serve him are mostly out of town. He expects indeed recommendations from some whom he has writ to. The warm part that I take in all his interests obliges me to avail myself of the honour I have of being known to your Grace, and to beg as much assistance with Mr. Pitt as you think you can give me with propriety.

'It is time I should say who my friend is. His name is Edmund Burke. As a literary man he may possibly be not quite unknown to you. He is the author of a piece which imposed on the world as Lord Bolingbroke's, called *The Advantages of Natural Society*; and of a very ingenious book published last year, called *A Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful.*

'I must further say of him that his chief application has been to the knowledge of public business and our commercial interests; that he seems to have a most extensive knowledge, with extraordinary talents for business, and to want nothing but ground to stand upon to do his country very important services. Mr. Wood[1], the Under Secretary, has some knowledge

[1] Robert Wood was born in Ireland in 1717. He was an excellent classical scholar, and travelled in the East, as far as Balbec and Palmyra, in 1751. His *Ruins of Palmyra* was published in 1753, and *Ruins of Balbec* in 1757—admirably illustrated works. Wood became Under Secretary of State under Mr. Pitt in 1756 until 1763. But Mr. Pitt's haughtiness prevented their association from being of long continuance. He was in office again from 1768

of him, and will, I am persuaded, do ample justice to his abilities and character. As for myself, as far as my testimony may serve him, I shall freely venture it on all occasions; as I value him not only for his learning and talents, but as being, in all points of character, a most amiable and most respectable man.

'I hope your Grace will forgive my taking up so much of your time. I am really so earnest in this gentleman's behalf, that if I can be instrumental in helping him, I shall think it one of the most fortunate events of my life. I beg leave to trouble you with my compliments to the Duke; and am, with a fresh remembrance of your many kindnesses,

'Your Grace's most obliged
and most faithful servant,
W. MARKHAM[1].'

The Duchess readily complied with Dr. Markham's request, and wrote to Mr. Pitt on behalf of his friend. But the haughty Minister rejected the application, and thus kept Edmund Burke in England, to be a thorn in his own side in the time to come[2].

Another much younger man and an Etonian, George Canning[3], was indebted for many kindnesses

to 1770. He died in 1771. His chief patron, with whom he had travelled, was the Duke of Bridgewater.

[1] *Chatham Correspondence*, i, p. 430.

[2] In one of his finest speeches Burke ridiculed Chatham as a great invisible power who left no Minister in the House of Commons.

[3] Letter from Mr. Canning, when Prime Minister, to the Rev. David F. Markham, dated July 31, 1827.

to Dr. Markham. The poets Churchill, Thornton, and Colman also enjoyed the hospitalities of Dean's Yard. Robert Lloyd was often there, and the head master strove to save the brilliant but wayward youth from his downward course[1].

More than seventy per cent. of the King's Scholars became clergymen in Dr. Markham's time, including two archbishops, three bishops, and several deans and archdeacons. Their old head master watched over the interests of his former pupils, and gave them help and preferment when it was needed. He got Cyril Jackson made Sub-Preceptor to the princes, and gave him a prebendal stall at Southwell. Page, Cleaver, and Mostyn became prebendaries of Chester; a boy who was afterwards an usher at Westminster and a man

[1] Robert Lloyd, son of Dr. Pierson Lloyd, the under master of Westminster, was born in 1733, and was at school with Warren Hastings, Colman, and Churchill. He went to Cambridge in 1751, and there his career of extravagance began. He became the bosom friend of Churchill and they led a wild and wayward life together. Dr. Markham appointed Lloyd an usher at Westminster, but, under Churchill's influence, he threw up the appointment, and tried to live on the proceeds of his writings. He was gifted with poetic talent, readiness of wit, and great facility of composition. He wrote several of the prologues for the Westminster Play during Dr. Markham's time. Eventually he became editor of a magazine, but the project failed, and poor Lloyd was thrown into prison by his creditors. While there the death of Churchill was suddenly announced to him. He said: 'I shall follow poor Charles.' He was taken ill, was nursed by Churchill's sister, Patty, and died in the Fleet on December 15, 1764. His death was soon followed by that of Churchill's sister, to whom he was engaged. Lloyd's poems were published in 1774.

of great ability, known as 'Dapper' Hume, he made Prebendary of Southwell; Edward Salter, William Conybeare, and William Jackson, three more of his boys, he made prebendaries of York. He also made William Jackson (afterwards Bishop of Oxford) his chaplain and gave him a Southwell prebend and the rectory of Beeford. To some others he gave temporary assistance.

Among Dr. Markham's laymen were the Marquis of Carmarthen (afterwards fifth Duke of Leeds and Foreign Secretary in Pitt's administration), who was again under him when Dean of Christ Church; Chief Baron Macdonald; Sir John Russell of Checkers; Sir John Aubrey, who became Father of the House of Commons; George Atwood, a Fellow of the Royal Society and Copley Medallist; Dr. Maty, the learned Secretary of the Royal Society, who indexed the first seventy volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*; Dr. Butt, who dedicated his poems to his old master; and Jeremy Bentham [1]. Dr. Markham educated three head masters, Dr. Vincent of Westminster, Dr. Drury of Harrow, and Dr. Goodenough of Ealing. His

[1] Bentham was a child of six when he went to Westminster, and could have known nothing about the head master except what he saw at a distance. He wrote: 'Our great glory was Dr. Markham. He was a tall, portly man and high he held his head. We stood prodigiously in awe of him; indeed he was an object of adoration.' All this he might remember; but when Bentham goes on to tell about Dr. Markham having been inattentive and having neglected his work, this cannot be from personal recollection, as the little boy in the lowest form can have known nothing about the head master's work. Mr. Sargeaunt says that Bentham's reminiscences are, in some points, demonstrably incorrect. See Bentham's *Works*, x, p. 30.

favourite pupils were Cyril Jackson, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, and Archibald Macdonald, the future Chief Baron. Their affection for their old master lasted through life. There were two of Dr. Markham's pupils, Edward Wortley Montagu and John English Dolben, whose friendship forms an interesting and pathetic story. The celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu sent her son Edward to Westminster in 1719, when he was a mere child. He ran away, and, after a year's search, was found selling fish at Blackwall. He ran away again, got on board a ship and landed at Oporto. On this second occasion he was at length found at Gibraltar and brought home. He continued to lead a wild life, generally abroad, travelling in the East, and learning several languages; but his conduct was so strange that his father left the family estates away from him, though he left him well provided for. His mother bequeathed him the sum of one guinea—an unfeeling act, however bad her son may have been. The young Montagu, who was under Dr. Markham, was a son of this extraordinary being. He cannot have been legitimate, for his father was constantly marrying and deserting one supposed wife after another, and the boy was born when his father was at least forty-six, in 1750. He came to Westminster, a forlorn, unacknowledged little waif, and was put to lodge in Great Smith Street with a Mrs. Ann Burgess, who was like a mother to him. He remained at school for ten years, and his bosom friend was a boy of the same age named John English Dolben. They went to Christ Church together, and eventually Wortley Montagu was sent out to

India, where he heard of his father's death. He set out for England in consequence, but was lost in a shipwreck at the Cape, leaving a will dated November 25, 1777. He left all the manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father to his old friend and schoolfellow Dolben, to be sold or published, and the profits to be given to his old dame at Westminster, Mrs. Ann Burgess, 'as a small acknowledgement for more than motherly kindness during ten years in her house.' Sir John E. Dolben proved the will in December, 1778, and erected a monument in the west cloister of the Abbey to the memory of his old schoolfellow. Sir John Dolben, an antiquary and man of letters, who loved his old school and its reminiscences, and was a constant guest at the Play, died at the great age of eighty-eight in 1837.

Dolben's monument to the memory of his friend is at the end of the west cloister, by the door into the Abbey :—

Edvardo Wortley Montagu
Qui ab Indis Orientalibus Britanniam rediturus
Naufragus periit MDCCLXXVII annum agens XXVII
In memoriam amicitiae
Apud scholam regiam vicinam inchoatae
Oxonii continenter productae
Magna parte orbis interiecta non diminutae
Morte vix abruptae
Caelis si videatur Deo renovandae
Monumentum hoc erigebat
J. E. D.
Librorum praedicti haeres
Et residui cohaeres legatus

This steadfast friendship, begun at school, continued at Oxford, unbroken by separation and scarcely by death, is very touching. There were seven generations of Dolbens at Westminster from 1603 to 1796, John English Dolben being the sixth.

In 1758 Dr. Markham presented the scenery for the Westminster Play, which was designed by Athenian Stewart, the antiquary. It lasted for fifty years, a new set being presented in 1808, closely adhering to the old designs. The second set lasted until 1857. When Dr. Markham's scenery was first used in 1758 the Play was *Phormio*, and the prologue, written by Robert Lloyd, was spoken by Edward Salter, who called the attention of the audience to the Parthenon, the Theseum, and the Temple of the Winds. It is a curious coincidence that when the new scenery was first used in 1808, Mr. Salter's son spoke the prologue.

Dr. Markham's tenure of office at Westminster is memorable for the considerable improvements that he made. When the large space was formed by the removal of the ancient dormitory, originally the granary of the monks, Dr. Markham created and laid out the 'Green' as a second playground nearer the school. It has ever since been used for football. The more distant playground was in Tothill Fields, which were not then built over.

In 1755 a Bill was passed in the face of much opposition (28 Geo. II, cap. 54), empowering Dr. Markham and Thomas Salter to build houses on the land opening on Dean's Yard. The terrace at the south end was then built, the capital being found by Dr. Cox and

Mr. Salter. The centre house on the terrace was a boarding house for Westminster boys during many years, and later known as Packharness's.

Dr. Markham also cleared part of the space in Little Dean's Yard, and built three good houses. The house next to the College dormitory was occupied from that time until the abolition of the office by the under master, and since by the master in charge of the King's Scholars. The next house became a boarding house for Westminster boys, with a resident master at first. In the time of Dr. Markham's successor, Dr. Samuel Smith, 1763–88, this house was in charge of an usher named Grant, one of Dr. Markham's pupils, and captain of the school in 1761. He was a writer of rather broad epigrams. Mr. Grant was usher from 1764 to 1772, and was afterwards rector of Winnington in Essex. The house has been called Grant's ever since to this day. The third house was at first in charge of Mr. Samuel Hayes, who was known among the boys as 'Botch' Hayes. Next it was known as Best's, then for many years as Benthall's. Since 1848 it has been called Rigaud's. It was pulled down and rebuilt in 1897; but the other two houses remain as Dr. Markham built them.

Dr. Pierson Lloyd was under master during the whole of Dr. Markham's time, and was the first occupant of the house next to the dormitory. Towards the close of his colleague's life, Dr. Markham, who never forgot an old friend, got him made a prebendary of York.

We have some account of Dr. Markham's method of teaching at Westminster from one who, though he was

himself at the school some fifteen years later[1], was intimately acquainted with many of those who benefited by it. He wrote: 'Those who in early life had the happiness of being Dr. Markham's pupils, universally agree that as an instructor he had no equal. It is difficult to say whether he most excelled in the manner of conveying knowledge, or in exciting youth to laudable pursuits. His knowledge of Grecian and Roman literature was universal; his taste pure. His geography was of such extensive range that it descended to all the minuteness of topographical accuracy; so that he never failed to secure the attention of his scholars by enlivening his lectures with the most pleasing descriptions and the most interesting anecdotes. He was at the same time so perfectly master of different incentives for different dispositions, that the studious were ever ambitious of his praise, and the idle feared his rebuke.'

Dr. Markham's knowledge of geography was profound, and his interest in the geographical side of classical studies was genuine. Hence his habitual illustration of history by descriptions of localities was most useful to his pupils. Nor did the seed thus sown fall upon barren ground. One student profited by this method of instruction in full measure, and to the teaching of Markham the world probably owes that tendency in the scholarly mind of Vincent, which pro-

[1] Henry F. Mills, election of 1782; an intimate friend of the Rev. W. Conybeare and Rev. F. H. Hume, who were educated under Dr. Markham, as well as of Dean Cyril Jackson and his brother Dr. Wm. Jackson.

duced the *Voyage of Nearchus* and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*

In his prime Dr. Markham was one who did whatever came to his hand with all his might. His work was not confined to teaching. He had much business to attend to besides. He quite transformed Westminster by his building and improvements, altered the whole aspect of the immemorial Play by the introduction of more appropriate scenery, attended to the interests of games by the creation of 'Green', and was indefatigable in furthering the well-being of the school by all the means in his power.

Dr. Markham's father, after long service in North America, was on his way home when the ship in which he took a passage was captured by a French privateer. He was kept a prisoner at large in the town of Niort. At length, through the exertions of his son, an exchange was obtained for him, and he came home in 1757. The old Major then retired. In his own phrase, 'he was enabled to dedicate the remainder of his life to the pleasing enjoyment of solitude and the Muses.' Dr. Markham had the pleasure of welcoming his father back, and of making his remaining years comfortable and happy. The love and devotion lavished on the little son in the Vine Street days were well repaid to the old Major by the sight of his son in positions of trust and honour, which he had won by his conduct and abilities. Major Markham died in his eighty-sixth year on May 27, 1771. His son buried him on June 1, in the north cloister of Westminster Abbey. Four months previously his son had become Bishop of Chester.

On June 16, 1759, Dr. Markham was married at St. Mildred's Church in Bread Street, to Sarah, daughter of John Goddard, a wealthy English merchant settled at Rotterdam. The young lady, born on February 14, 1738, was aged twenty-one, her husband being forty. The fruit of this union was thirteen children, six sons and seven daughters, born between 1760 and 1783. Mrs. Markham received the sum of £10,000 from her father, the rest of his great fortune going to her brother, John Goddard, who lived at Woodford Hall in Essex, and died very rich in 1788. He was a stiff, formal, cold-hearted man. By his wife, Henrietta Maria Hope, he had three daughters, co-heiresses [1].

Dr. Markham's three eldest sons were born in Dean's Yard—William, baptized in Westminster Abbey in May, 1760; John and George, in St. Margaret's Church in 1761 and 1763. His two eldest daughters were born at Chiswick, where Dr. Markham rented the prebendal house in the manor grounds from the Dean and Chapter. Here the family usually spent the holidays; for it was a pleasant country residence in those days [2].

[1] (1) Anne, married to her father's chief clerk, named John Williams, illegitimate son of H. Hope of Amsterdam, who took the surname and arms of Hope in 1811. Their daughter married Renaud de Ginkel, eighth Earl of Athlone. (2) Sarah, married to John Langston, Esq., of Sarsden. (3) Henrietta, married to Admiral Sir Charles M. Pole, Bart.

[2] The connexion of Westminster School with Chiswick began in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Dean Goodman held the prebend of Chiswick belonging to St. Paul's, the endowment of which consisted of a manor in the parish. He arranged that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster should become tenants of this manor, consisting of 140 acres of land, for ninety-nine years, and they

The deans of Westminster during Dr. Markham's time were Dr. Joseph Wilcocks, who was appointed in 1731, and died aged eighty-three in 1756, and Dr. Zachary Pearce. In the time of Dr. Wilcocks the west towers of the Abbey were built. His son was a schoolfellow of Dr. Markham's, and was also at Christ Church with him; afterwards dividing his time between literary pursuits and the relief of distress. Dr. Pearce was a scholar of sufficient depth to be able to hold his own in controversies with Bentley. Both deans were also bishops of Rochester. Dr. Pearce officiated at the coronation of George III.

In 1760 the bicentenary of Queen Elizabeth's foundation of St. Peter's College was celebrated by a dinner and prayers. The King's Scholars delivered orations and verses from the gallery in College Hall; the dinner lasted from 2.15 to 4.30 in the afternoon, and was followed by evening service in the Abbey [1]. In 1756 Dr. Markham was elected one of the trustees of Dr. Busby's charities, and from that time the meetings and dinners of the trustees took place at his house, until his retirement from the head-mastership in 1764.

continued to hold it on leases of lives renewable by fines. The Manor House was enlarged, and additional houses were built for a prebendary and attendants. Old Fuller described it as a retiring place for the masters and scholars of Westminster in the heat of summer, or at any time of infection. Dr. Busby resided at Chiswick with several scholars in 1657. The house was thoroughly repaired in 1711 for Dr. Friend. But Dr. Nicoll was the last head master who lived in the Manor House. Dr. Markham rented the adjoining prebendal house from the Dean and Chapter.

[1] Sargeaunt, p. 195.

After eleven years the strain began to tell. In those days it was generally admitted that services such as those of Dr. Markham deserved recognition in the form of Church preferment. A head master with long administrative experience has valuable qualifications, as has since been shown in the cases of Longley, Tait, Benson, Temple, and others. He may legitimately look forward to promotion, and Dr. Markham had received a promise of assistance from the Duke of Bedford, who was himself an Old Westminster of an earlier generation, and whose sons and grandsons were all sent to Westminster. This caused a community of feeling which gave the Duke pleasure in furthering the interests of the head master of his old school.

Dr. Markham's health had suffered, and in 1763 he felt that he must seek comparative rest. The deanery of Bristol became vacant, and he applied to Mr. Grenville for it. He also wrote the following letter to the Duke of Bedford [1], dated 'Westminster, September 14, 1763':—

'Your Grace was so kind as to tell me, some years ago, that whenever I applied for a Crown preferment, you would be ready to give your assistance. I have been eight years a King's Chaplain, and almost eleven

[1] John, fourth Duke of Bedford, was born in 1710, nine years before Dr. Markham. In 1762 he was Ambassador in France, to sign the Peace of Fontainebleau. He married Lady Gertrude Leveson Gower in 1737, and died in January, 1771. His son, the Marquis of Tavistock, was killed by a fall from his horse in 1767. The sons and grandsons were all sent to Westminster School; fourteen Russells were there. See *Bedford Correspondence*, iii, p. 273.

Master of Westminster School without having received any mark of the royal favour.

'The frequent headaches which I have been long subject to, make my attendance at the school very painful to me, and I am disabled from giving that attention to my health which I ought, in duty to my family.

'The deanery of Bristol is now vacant. The value of it, I am told, is under five hundred pounds a year.

'As I must quit a much larger income for it, I should not think it a great object, if the consideration of my health did not make it so.

'I have laid my pretensions before Mr. Grenville, and, though I have had a very civil answer, I am afraid they will not have much efficacy if not aided by some support.

'I know no patronage that can be more honourable to me than your Grace's; I am sure there is no one to whom I would wish more to be under an obligation. If I am thought worthy of this testimony of your good opinion I shall be very happy.'

The Duke at once spoke to the King, who gave his Grace leave to assure Dr. Markham that, 'although the deanery of Bristol had already been promised to Dr. Barton, His Majesty will not be unmindful of the Duke's recommendation whenever a proper opportunity shall offer [1].'

[1] The Duke's letter is dated at St. James's, Sept. 16, 1763. In April, 1763, Lord Bute had resigned and George Grenville became Prime Minister. The Duke was not in office.

Meanwhile Dr. Markham had been given a prebend at Durham worth £700 a year. He was installed there on July 20, 1759.

During the winter of 1763–4 strong wishes were expressed by old friends, especially those connected with Christ Church, that Dr. Markham should succeed to the deanery of his own college, on his retirement from Westminster. The actual Dean himself, Dr. Gregory[1], wished that Markham should be his successor. At this time Dr. Zachary Pearce[2], then Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester, a man of considerable private means, announced his intention of retiring, from old age, at Michaelmas, 1764. Dr. Gregory, who was in declining health, agreed to vacate Christ Church for Westminster, so that Dr. Markham might become Dean of Christ Church. This arrange-

[1] David Gregory was the son of Dr. Gregory, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. Born in 1700, he was at Westminster School 1705–14, and was elected to Christ Church. He was the first Professor of Modern History and Languages, 1724; Canon of Christ Church; Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, 1761, and Master of Sherburn Hospital. He married Lady Mary Grey, daughter of the Earl of Kent. Dr. David Gregory became Dean of Christ Church in 1756, and died Sept. 16, 1767.

[2] Zachary Pearce was son and heir of a distiller in Holborn, who made a fortune and bought an estate at Ealing. Born in 1690, he was at Westminster School 1705–10, and went thence to Trinity College, Cambridge. His patron was Lord Macclesfield, who got him the vicarage of St. Martin in the Fields, 1723, and the bishopric of Bangor. In 1755 he succeeded to the estate at Ealing and wished to retire. He refused the bishopric of London, but in 1756 he became Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster. He at last resigned the deanery of Westminster in 1768, and died at Ealing in 1774, aged 84.

ment received the King's approval; and it only needed the fulfilment of old Dr. Pearce's promise to be completed.

Meanwhile Dr. Markham declined an offer of the deanery of Peterborough in consequence of the above agreement, and in accordance with the advice of Dr. Pearce himself. But a week afterwards Dr. Pearce wrote to advise the acceptance of Peterborough, 'as we none of us know our own hearts, and it is possible I may change my mind.' He seems to have been a very vacillating old gentleman, to use the mildest term. The letter came too late, as the deanery of Peterborough had already been given to some one else. Immediately afterwards Dr. Pearce wrote again to the effect that, notwithstanding what he said in his former letter, he still held to his resolution of resigning before Christmas, 1764.

On this understanding Dr. Markham gave up the charge of Westminster School on March 8, 1764, and went to Durham to take up his residence as Canon in the following June. His family then consisted of four little children—William, born in 1760, John in 1761, George in 1763, and Harriette in 1764 [1].

Hearing nothing from Dr. Pearce for several months, Dr. Markham wrote to him to say that it would be very convenient if he would inform him of the exact date of his resignation. The reply was that the Dean was still uncertain not only as regards the time, but

[1] He retained the lease of the house at Chiswick for another year and a half. His second daughter Elizabeth was born there on August 6, 1765.

as to the event itself: that it certainly could not be before the end of the summer, because a house which he was repairing at Ealing would not be finished before that time.

On December 4, 1764, Dr. Markham wrote to the Duke of Bedford, describing the way in which he had been treated by Dr. Pearce, and ending with the remark :—'in this handsome manner has he concluded the drama of his resignation which, from the first opening, has lasted three years.' Dean Pearce did not resign until 1768, when he was seventy-eight. The Duke replied immediately, saying that 'it was very unfortunate that the unsteadiness (not to give it a worse appellation) of the Dean should have deprived Dr. Markham of the preferment which the Crown designed for him, and which would have been so agreeable to him; and that Dr. Markham will always find the Duke desirous of serving him, whenever a proper opportunity shall offer'.

On February 12, 1765, Dr. Markham was appointed Dean of Rochester, and went to reside there soon afterwards. A letter dated there, on December 29, 1765, to his friend William Burke[1], shows the affectionate interest still felt by Dr. Markham in the career of Edmund Burke :—

'I thank you most heartily for your affectionate letter and am ashamed of my inattention, in suffering those who take so warm a part in our happiness to be so long in suspense about it. Our house has been

[1] *Burke Correspondence*, i, p. 92.

full of people till yesterday, when Mr. Cooper [1] and his family left us. During that time I wrote many letters, and thought that one of them had been to you. We are perfectly well. The measles have run through all the children; the youngest, who gave us most apprehension, had them more slightly than any of the rest [2].

'I was informed of Ned's [3] cold, by a letter from Skynner [4]. I am very glad to hear it is so much better. I should be grieved to hear he was ill at any time, particularly at so critical time as this. I think much will depend on his outset. I wish him to appear at once in some important question. If he has but that confidence in his strength which I have always had, he cannot fail of appearing with lustre. I am very glad to hear from you that he feels his own consequence as well as the crisis of his situation. He is now on the ground on which I have been so many years wishing to see him. One splendid day will crush the malevolence of enemies, as well as the envy of some who often praise him. When his reputation is once established, the common voice will either silence malignity or

[1] Mr. Cooper was then a rising barrister married in 1762 to Elizabeth Kennedy, both natives of Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1765 Lord Rockingham made him Secretary of the Treasury, a post which he held until 1782. From 1775 he called himself Sir Grey Cooper, claiming an old baronetcy. He died in 1801.

[2] Elizabeth, born Aug. 6, 1765, afterwards Mrs. Barnett.

[3] Edmund Burke.

[4] Chief Baron Skynner, born 1724, at Westminster 1738–42, Christ Church 1742–50, K.C. 1771, Chief Baron 1777–87, P.C. 1787. Died 1802. Portrait by Gainsborough in Christ Church Hall.

destroy its effects. As to my good wishes towards him and you, God knows you have always had them, though it has not been in my power to give you much proof of them.

'What is done about the Irish pension? I hear it is taken from Hamilton, and that Ned is to have it in a more agreeable shape. I think the session has opened with as many circumstances of disgrace to your opponents as you could possibly wish; and that your prospects brighten every day.

'We propose being in town in about a fortnight, though we do not yet know where. We shall probably have a furnished house in Pall Mall [1].

'Adieu, my dear Burke, and make our best compliments to the house in Queen Anne Street [2].

'I am most affectionately yours,

'Wm. Markham.'

Dr. Markham was Dean of Rochester for nearly three years, and the Chapter presented him with the vicarage of Boxley in Kent. In the short time that he was

[1] The fourth son, David, was born in Pall Mall on September 1, 1766, and baptized in Westminster Abbey. In this year there was a new Ministry, the Duke of Grafton being first Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, Secretary of State, and really Prime Minister; but in 1768 Lord Chatham retired.

[2] The house of Edmund Burke's father-in-law, Dr. Nugent. The Rockingham Ministry had come into office on July 13, 1765; and William Burke was Under Secretary of State, while Edmund was Private Secretary to the Prime Minister. Edmund came into Parliament as member for Wendover in 1766. The Ministry went out on August 1, 1766. Rockingham was incapable as a leader, and this Ministry, though well-intentioned, was inefficient.

at Rochester he improved the Deanery, and built additions to Boxley Vicarage which made it more habitable.

His old friend Dr. Gregory died in 1767, and Dr. Markham was at once appointed Dean of Christ Church on October 23, 1767, a most popular choice. He entered upon his duties with the hearty goodwill of all connected with the college and amidst the congratulations of his numerous friends. The Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Warburton, wrote him the following letter :—

'Prior Park,
October 14, 1767.

'Dear Sir,

'You will do me the justice to believe that I felt the sincerest pleasure on hearing of your promotion to the deanery of Christ Church. I am glad to find that, amidst the chaos of politics, Ministers can sometimes see their way before them, and that the madness of the times has its lucid intervals : whenever, as the poet says,—

A sable cloud
Turns forth her silver lining on the night.

'We are in hopes the darkness will not be eternal. May you live long and happy and continue to be the boast of your friends, has long been the wish of your very affectionate and faithful humble servant,

'W. Gloucester.'

Dr. Markham presided over his old college for ten years. There were many testimonies to the ability,

wisdom, and above all to the kindness of his rule: none stronger and more hearty than that of his venerated successor, Dr. Cyril Jackson. The education of the students occupied his closest attention, and with the happiest results. There is an interesting autograph correspondence in existence, on this subject, between Dr. Markham and Dr. C. Bentham [1], and other letters in which the Dean shows his diligence in improving the library.

Dr. Markham's portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds is in Christ Church Hall, the engraving from the picture at Windsor by Hoppner is in the Common Room, and his bust is in the library.

While Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Markham's two youngest sons were born, Robert and Osborne, and four daughters. Osborne was named after the fifth Duke of Leeds, then Marquis of Carmarthen, who was his godfather, and had just become Master of Arts at Oxford, after having been Dr. Markham's pupil at Westminster and Christ Church. The Duke, as Lord Carmarthen, was Foreign Secretary during eight years of Pitt's administration, and died in 1799.

In 1769 Dr. Markham took a house in Bloomsbury Square. The See of Chester was conferred upon him on January 26, 1771. It was unsought, for he did not wish to leave Christ Church. In becoming a bishop it was, therefore, arranged that he should retain the deanery. He was consecrated in the Chapel Royal,

[1] Referred to in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, ii, p. 468. Dr. Bentham was a Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Divinity, 1763. He died in 1776.

Whitehall, by Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, Dr. Egerton, Bishop of Durham, Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Worcester, his old master at Westminster.

At about this time there was a disagreement between Dr. Markham and Edmund Burke.

It appears from the draft [1] for a very long letter from Edmund Burke to some one whom he addresses as 'My Lord', with whom he had been intimate for seventeen years, and who was godfather to his son, that Burke's old friend had sent him a letter containing accusations couched in strong language. The accusing letter does not exist, and we can only gather its tenor from Burke's draft reply, which covers sixty-two pages. The above description of the writer almost certainly refers to Dr. Markham, who, in 1771, the date of the draft, was Bishop of Chester, who had been Burke's friend for seventeen years, and who was godfather to Burke's son.

Burke had then only been four years in Parliament. He was a rising, but not yet a great man. He was nine years younger than Dr. Markham, who certainly, under the circumstances of their long intimacy, had a right to remonstrate with his friend. It was a time when virulent personal attacks [2], very often anonymous, were being made on public men in all directions.

[1] *Burke Correspondence*, i, p. 296.

[2] Burke had himself published his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* in the previous year, in which he brought serious accusations against the politicians who were known as the 'King's friends'. But no names were given, and the authorship was acknowledged.

Some of the worst slanders were levelled at Lord Mansfield, who was among Dr. Markham's greatest friends. The Junius Letters were appearing, the first in June, 1769, the last in January, 1772. We gather from Burke's draft that Dr. Markham had been informed that Burke himself was the author, as well as of other attacks published anonymously. There were several expressions referred to in the draft as occurring in the letter of Dr. Markham, which, if in the form given by Burke, must have been written in the heat of the moment, and the writer would have regretted having used them. The letter does not now exist, and these expressions, such as calling Burke's house a 'hole of adders', are so very unlike anything that Dr. Markham ever wrote, that it seems more probable that Burke composed his draft with his mind full of a grievance, but without confining himself to the exact words of the letter under reply. If, as seems probable, the draft was never used, Burke would allow free play to his imagination.

An impartial historian said of what Burke wrote that 'he ever mistakes the colouring of his own brilliant imagination for the hues of the objects around him[1]. Where persons are concerned he allowed his fancy full play[2]'.

In his draft he defended himself by denying most of the accusations. He especially declared that those who fixed on him as the author of the Junius Letters were libellers. But he could not deny all. A careful perusal of his draft leaves the impression that his

[1] Stanhope, v, ch. xliv. [2] Ibid., ch. xlv.

correspondent had some ground for his anger, though he may have given expression to it with undue vehemence. It is quite in accordance with what is known of Burke's habit of mind that he should prepare a long reply to a letter, without exact quotations from it, but drawing upon his imagination in order to produce a more telling composition; and then that he should leave the draft among his papers unused.

It is pleasant to turn from the defence of his conduct in Burke's draft to the affectionate way in which he refers to the old friendship.

'I assure you,' he writes, 'that I wish to stand well in your opinion, and do not even now easily reconcile myself to the loss of it. In the innumerable conversations we have had together for many years, which I now remember with a melancholy pleasure, do you remember a single angry word that ever passed between us, till the moment of your letter? But I would not, for any consideration, that my son should happen to meet such horrid offences charged against me by my seventeen-years' friend, by the very person who answered for him at the font, without letting him know that I was able to say something in my defence.

'In your Lordship's letter I know nothing of my old friend but the handwriting, which I know but too well.'

Speaking of his cousin William he wrote :—

'To him I owed my connexion with Lord Rockingham, my seat in Parliament, and all the happiness and all the advantages I received from a long acquaintance

with your Lordship. He loved your Lordship and would have died for you. He had the most ardent affection for you, and the most unbounded confidence in you.

'Your sentiments of me, I trust, are expressed in anger and in the vehemence of a mistaken zeal, from which no talent nor situation will always exempt even men of piety and virtue[1].'

This no doubt was the case. The draft probably never became a letter and was never sent. Most likely there were explanations, mutual expressions of regret in interviews either with William or Edmund or both. It was only a passing storm. The old friendly intercourse was soon renewed, for we find Edmund Burke sending his son to Christ Church at an earlier age than usual, in his eagerness to have him under the care of his godfather the Dean. Three years afterwards there is a letter from Edmund Burke to the Bishop of Chester, asking a favour for a friend, which shows that they were quite on their old affectionate terms again. It is dated June 20, 1774, and thus concludes :—'Mrs. Burke, William, and this family present their most respectful and affectionate compliments to Mrs. Markham and our love to the children. I am, with the most real esteem and regard, ever, &c.[2]'

The intimacy between Dr. Markham and Edmund Burke continued for several years after the date of the above letter. It cooled owing to divergence of

[1] This sentence contains a sufficient answer to the detractors of Dr. Markham, as regards Burke.

[2] *Burke Correspondence.*

opinion respecting the rebellion of the American colonies[1]. It is true that Mrs. Markham never liked Burke, and suspected him. But he used to visit at Dr. Markham's house, certainly as late as 1782, and hear the letters read from the eldest son in India, who was private secretary to Warren Hastings. Mrs. Markham always declared that he asked leave to take one home to read, and that he never returned it, using the information it contained at the trial.

The friendship endured for at least thirty years, and for the first half of that time it was of a most intimate and affectionate character. Burke altered. He ceased to be the simple-minded and interesting young man that Dr. Markham knew, and had such a very high opinion of, during the first years of their intimacy. He grew to a knowledge of his commanding talent, and became more and more dictatorial, overbearing and intolerant of the opinions of others. William Burke went to India in 1782, returned in 1793, and only lived for five years afterwards. Edmund Burke died, a disappointed and broken-hearted man, in July, 1797, having lost his beloved son Richard three years previously. His violence in conducting the trial of Warren Hastings had quite estranged him from Dr. Markham, who survived him for ten years.

There is one publication by Dr. Markham while he was Dean of Christ Church, a *Concio ad Clerum*[2].

[1] Burke had been paid £1,000 a year by the New York Colony to act as their agent, since 1772.

[2] *Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuarensis Provinciae ad D. Pauli Die xxv Ianuarii A.D. mdcclxix habita a Gulielmo*

After his consecration the year was divided between Chester and Oxford. He was, of course, at Christ Church during the terms. Dr. Markham's old friend Sir John Skynner [1], afterwards Chief Baron, was then a Welsh judge and lived a good deal at Chester, so that the two families became very intimate. Lady Skynner and her sisters, the Miss Burns, were Mrs. Markham's chief friends, and her children were very fond of them. Another great friend at Chester was Mr. Francis Burton, one of the justices [2].

On April 12, 1771, the Bishop of Chester was selected for the very responsible post of Preceptor to the young princes, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York. They were under his care from the ages of nine and eight to fourteen and thirteen. This choice was made on the recommendation of the Earl of Mansfield. Dr. Markham had not sought for the appointment, but had mentioned Dr. Hurd for it, when consulted by Lord Holderness. The Earl of Holderness was Governor of the princes [3]; and Dr. Markham obtained

Markham, D.C.L., Ecclesiae Christi Oxon. Decano iussu Reverendissimi accedit oratiuncula (4to, 25 pp.).

[1] See note, p. 31. Chief Baron Skynner's only daughter was the wife of the Right Honble. Richard Ryder, brother of Lord Harrowby.

[2] One of H. M. justices of Chester. He was one of the Archbishop's executors.

[3] In the arrangement for the education of the princes, the precedent of Queen Anne's son, the Duke of Gloucester, appears to have been followed. In his case Marlborough was Governor and Bishop Burnet was Preceptor.

Horace Walpole's account of the arrangements for the young princes is coloured by his dislikes. The dislikes soon became hatreds with him, and for those he hated no epithets were too

the appointment of Sub-Preceptor for his favourite pupil Cyril Jackson.

In those days the Bishop lived, for a short time every year, at a house near Kew called Sion End, while the princes were at Kew, 1771–6. The two princes wrote affectionate letters, at first between ruled lines, to their preceptor. Twelve of these letters, from each of them, have been preserved and seven of the Bishop's replies. In 1774, when he was twelve, the Prince of Wales wrote: 'The time since you went seems to have passed very slow, for I always must think so when you are not with us. Your good instruction, your kindness, your good nature will never be effaced from my heart.' This may be looked upon as the expression of the evanescent feelings of a child, but it was not so.

The faults of the Prince of Wales were many and great, but his affection for the friend of his youth continued through life. It is also attractive to find the interest taken by the princes in their preceptor's children. On July 8, 1771, the Prince of Wales

abusive, no gossip too absurd. He hated Lord Mansfield, and the friends of Lord Mansfield were included in this enmity. He also hated Christ Church, apparently because Lord Mansfield was there. Lord Mansfield was consulted by the King in the arrangements for the princes, hence everybody who was chosen came in for abuse. Lord Holderness is a nonentity. Dr. Markham is a hard arrogant man, a creature of Lord Mansfield. Christ Church is 'the true prerogative seminary', and so on. Walpole did not know Dr. Markham or anything about him, but he tacked on any epithet that came into his head, by way of indulging his spleen against any friend of Lord Mansfield. See *Memoirs of George III*, p. 310.

writes: 'I am very happy to hear that Master Markham has got into the fourth form.' On July 20, 1773, the Duke of York writes that, 'in going to Lord Holderness's, we saw Robert and Osborne playing before your door at Sion End.' When Jack, the second son, went to sea, he was invited to stay with the princes at Buckingham House, on his way from Chester to Portsmouth. On December 16, 1775, the Prince of Wales wrote: 'Dear *Admiral* Jack went last Thursday. We may say to him what Virgil makes Apollo say to Ascanius—

Macte novâ virtute puer: sic itur ad astra.'

Nor was Jack forgotten. On an invitation from the Prince of Wales to the Archbishop to dine at Carlton House on March 25, 1790, there is a postscript—'and bring Jack.'

King George III presented a beautifully bound copy of the *Odes of Pindar* to Dr. Markham, on his retirement from the post of Preceptor on May 28, 1776[1].

[1] The letters of the two princes to Dr. Markham were bound up in a volume which was for many years at Becca. It is now at Morland.

Dr. Markham's resignation, and the other changes, were from simple causes. There was no mystery and no plot. But Horace Walpole, in commenting on the changes, breaks out into a quantity of malignant gossip about mysteries and plots. He speaks of the 'extreme curiosity of mankind at the changes'. Lord Hertford, it seems, thought they must have had weighty causes. Walpole then gives a false version of an interview between the King and the Bishop of Chester, at the expense of the latter. Apart from its absurdity, this version must have been invented, because it is out of the question that either the King or the

On December 10, 1776, the death took place of Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, an Old Westminster, and a very old friend of Dr. Markham. Dr. Drummond's brother, James Hay, was his contemporary at school. The Prime Minister[1] cordially agreed with the wishes of the King in the selection of a successor; but the promotion was quite unsought on Dr. Markham's part. The new Archbishop was translated on

Bishop would have retailed it. We are then told that the Bishop was suspected of being at the bottom of the plot. What plot? No nonsense is too absurd for this retailer of gossip. Next we are informed that Markham was a very ambitious man, that he asked to be made Bishop of Winchester, and was told not to expect it. This is a pure invention. There was no prospect of a vacancy at Winchester at that time; but Dr. Markham was promoted to York within six months.—*Last Journals*, ii, p. 49.

The reason for the change given by the King was that, when Lord Holderness retired, His Majesty resolved to change the Preceptor also, evidently because the princes were fond of the Bishop of Chester and had asked that he might remain. In his letter to Lord North, dated May 27, 1776, George III wrote: 'I yesterday took the painful task of sending for the Bishop of Chester, and, with kindness and frankness, told him that, as Lord Holderness meant to retire, I should at the same time appoint a new Preceptor. The princes would secretly feel a kind of victory if the Bishop remained.'

Dr. Markham's successor as Preceptor to the princes was an old friend of his own, who had been recommended by him as well as by Lord Mansfield. Dr. Hurd, the biographer of Dr. Warburton, was a learned and good man, but too much of a courtier. Had the wise and firm supervision of Dr. Markham been continued for a few years longer, the career of the Prince of Wales might have been different.

[1] Lord North, whose Ministry lasted from 1770 to 1782. Lord Rockingham succeeded, but died the same year, and was followed by Lord Shelburne.

December 21, 1776, and enthroned in January, 1777. He was nominated Lord High Almoner and sworn of the Privy Council. Good wishes and congratulations came from all directions. His sailor son wrote from Antigua in March: 'You may be sure the news gave me great joy, though I am sorry for Dr. Drummond's death as I know he was a friend of yours.'

In those days the northern archbishop was a prince holding vast estates and bearing the weight of heavy responsibilities[1]. Dr. Fountayne was Dean of York during the greater part of Archbishop Markham's time, dying in 1802, aged eighty-eight. He was a very old and tried friend. The home was at Bishopthorpe for the next thirty years.

Bishopthorpe is about three miles south of York, on the right bank of the river Ouse. The ancient pile has seen many vicissitudes. Originally founded by Archbishop Grey in the thirteenth century, it has been retouched by various hands. Yet the river face retains its venerable aspect. Though repaired and altered from time to time, there are still the ancient walls and quaint gables enclosing the chapel and dining-room, said to be the very same hall in which a hireling lawyer, at the bidding of the usurper Bolingbroke, adjudged the saintly Archbishop Scrope to death. It is hung with portraits of archbishops, that of Dr. Markham having been painted by his friend Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1777. The gardens and old avenues on the river side were laid out and planted by Archbishop

[1] The last of the prince archbishops was Dr. Edward Harcourt, the successor to Dr. Markham.

Sharp in 1691–1713. But the front of the palace is modern, built in the so-called Gothic style by Dr. Drummond in 1765. A gate-house with crocketed pinnacles leads into a court-yard, and a flight of steps is the approach to the front door, under a rather handsome stone canopy. On the left are the ivy-covered stables; on the right, in those days, there was a large pond with tall trees overshadowing it [1]. Dr. Markham spent a large sum of money on the kitchen garden, building a flood wall 181 feet long, which is still standing. The house in Bloomsbury Square was the Archbishop's town residence.

[1] An interesting history of the fabric of Bishopthorpe Palace was written by Archbishop Longley. It is still in manuscript. See also the *History of Bishopthorpe*, by the Rev. J. Keble (1905).

CHAPTER III

OPINION ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.—ATTACK ON THE ARCHBISHOP IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—THE GORDON RIOTS.—TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS

THE position of the Archbishop of York forced him to express his views on political questions and on certain burning controversies. This he did without fear either of politicians or of the mob. It is not a question whether he was right or wrong, but whether he was right in expressing his opinions. About that there can surely be no doubt. He believed that the American rebellion was lawless, and he said so in a sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He believed that the trial of Warren Hastings was conducted with inhumanity and injustice, and he said so from his place in Parliament; undaunted by any obloquy that might be cast on him, then or afterwards.

Dr. Markham was brought up by his father in the principles of the Revolution. He was a lover of true liberty under the sanctions of law, but he looked upon the American rebellion as lawless and therefore wicked. The Archbishop was a leading member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had done so much for the colonies during many years. The return of the rebels had been the lawless persecution of ministers and other members of the Society, solely on the ground of their loyalty.

The Archbishop preached at St. Mary-le-Bow, on the occasion of the anniversary meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, on February 21, 1777. The rebellion was then at its height, Washington having surprised the drunken Germans at Trenton on Christmas Day, 1776, and the skirmish at Princeton having taken place in the following January. As this sermon was the object of attacks on the Archbishop in the House of Lords, it will be as well to give a brief analysis of its contents. The text of the sermon was from Daniel vii. 14, 'His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away.'

The Archbishop's discourse was directed to impress upon his hearers that, as the four great empires foretold in prophecy were temporal, the fifth was to be different in its nature from the others. This the Jews did not understand, looking for temporal power, whereas Christ's kingdom was to be spiritual. This misunderstanding has continued in various forms. The Papacy, the Crusades, the doctrine of the lawfulness of persecution, the conduct of sects when their claim for liberty means dominion over others, have all originated from a misapprehension of the nature of Christ's kingdom. The Archbishop claimed that the Church of England has less of the persecuting spirit than any other, and shows charity towards those who dissent from it.

He went on to maintain that, although the dominion of Christ refers to the inward man, yet the propagation of our religion, by peaceful means, is a duty. In the performance of that duty foresight and discretion are needed, as well as the assistance of the State, on the

ground that religion ensures peace and harmony in the community.

On these principles the Society was founded, its main object being to bring help to North America. When its work was commenced, half the people in the American colonies belonged to the Church of England, yet there were only five churches. In 1777 there were several hundred churches, and provision for ministers.

Previous reports proved a pleasing part of our business, but now a sad reverse has come upon us. The laity are suffering confiscations and imprisonment from the rebels, for no other offence than being loyal subjects, while the ministers of our Church are pursued with licentious cruelty.

The causes of the calamity are to be sought in the mistakes and inattentions of the Government. This is not the place for their discussion; but it will be relevant to make some observations on the loose opinions which prevail respecting civil and religious liberty.

The authority of the State is properly exercised when the opinions of the sects on civil matters are contrary to the well-being of the community. Thus the laws against Papists were purely political; and if other sects arise with dangerous opinions they must be laid under similar restraint.

Liberty is the most valuable of all human possessions. It consists in freedom from all restraints, except such as the law imposes for the good of the community. Liberty cannot subsist under force, it can only subsist under law. The foundation of freedom is the supre-

macy of the law. Every man's humour or interest cannot be the measure of his obedience; for by such a system all evil passions are let loose, and the last stage of political depravity is reached.

Our own revolution is no precedent for such a defiance of law in the name of liberty, for it was undertaken to maintain the supremacy of law. But at every step in the American contest law has been assailed and violated.

Our prospects are dark, and we can only rely upon the wisdom of our governors, and hope that necessity may provide remedies which foresight did not. He thus concluded his sermon:—

'Our chief reliance must be on the mercies of God, which have so often interposed with mighty deliverances in behalf of this Church and nation: that He may now also, by the excellency of His power, make the sweet water flow from bitter fountains, and even in our present distress lay the foundations of our future tranquillity.'

This eloquent prayer was, in God's good time, most fully and abundantly answered, though not in the way which the suppliant would then have expected. Permission was given, at the request of the Society, to print the sermon, as was usual on such occasions. It was never published.

Yet the sermon formed the pretext for an attack on the Archbishop by one or two of Lord Chatham's immediate following in a debate on December 5, 1777. We find a passage in the Duke of Grafton's autobiography[1] which describes their conduct:—

[1] *Memoirs of the third Duke of Grafton*, p. 296.

'Room was found for a strong censure on the Archbishop of York as well as on his principles, who had dared to stigmatize the fair character of the Marquis of Rockingham (for his meaning in the late Charge [1] could not be mistaken) and his adherents as traitors to their country, and I availed myself of the opening to the extent of my wishes. But Lord Shelburne in his speech spared his Grace still less, and Lord Chatham, learning at the moment only the circumstances from me, exceeded us both in the strength of his attack on the Archbishop, who, by any person acquainted with the publication [2], must be deemed to have deserved it from us.'

The Duke of Grafton did mistake the meaning of the Archbishop, who made no allusion to Lord Rockingham. The sermon had been misrepresented to the Duke and Lord Shelburne, who cannot have read it. The Archbishop was goaded by these unjust and petulant attacks into a brief reply. He said that he ought, in his position, to bear wrongs, but that there were injuries which would try any patience; and that he was ready to defend the positions in his sermon [3]. Then Lord Chatham came in, who knew nothing of the matter, but received a peculiar version of the sermon from the Duke of Grafton. Thus misled, Lord Chatham, as was too often the case in his later years, broke out into a violent tirade, shouting, 'These are the doctrines

[1] If there was a Charge referring to the subject, it must have contained the same views as were expressed in the sermon, in the same year.

[2] It was not published.

[3] Walpole, *Last Journals*, i, p. 119.

of Atterbury and Sacheverell.' His speech only showed the frailty of his temper, attributable partly to broken health.

Four months afterwards the Earl of Chatham came to the House of Lords for the last time, on April 7, 1778. He expressed his indignation at the proposal to yield up the sovereignty of America, but his speech was confused and incoherent. As is well known, when striving to reply to the Duke of Richmond, the great statesman fell back in convulsions, and was carried out of the House. He died a month afterwards.

A Bill was introduced after the Earl's funeral, and passed the Commons, granting to Lord Chatham's family a pension of £4,000 a year for three lives, besides £3,000 a year previously obtained by him, and in addition the sum of £20,000. In the Lords a minority spoke against so large a grant at a time of great financial difficulty, but not against the grant itself. England was then menaced by enemies anxious to take advantage of the rebellion in America. It was a time of trouble and anxiety, and a legislator might well think that at such a time money should be husbanded for the public service, and not lavishly voted away on private grants and pensions. The Archbishop took that view. Eleven peers voted in the same sense; and a protest was signed by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Chandos, and Lord Paget.

Lord Stanhope has suggested[1] that the signing of the protest by Archbishop Markham was not in good taste, because Lord Chatham had inveighed against his Grace's

[1] Lord Stanhope's *History of England*, vi, ch. lvii (footnote).

sermon not long before, so that it might be imputed to personal resentment. This was different from Horace Walpole's statement that it was 'a mean revenge by one who had not had the spirit to take notice of Lord Chatham's censure while he was alive[1]'. The Archbishop had taken such notice of the attack as was necessary. His Grace concurred in the views expressed in Lord Chatham's last speech, and the scene which followed would have obliterated any feeling of resentment, if such existed, which was certainly not the case. The Archbishop was entirely devoid of personal vanity, and such an unfounded attack from a suffering and irritable man was freely forgiven as soon as uttered. Chatham had, a short time before, made a similar indefensible attack on the irreproachable, warm-hearted, and open-handed Bishop Barrington for want of charity. Such exhibitions of temper were ascribed to broken health, and never gave rise to any lasting feeling of resentment. The Archbishop simply acted from a sense of duty which may have been mistaken, but those who differed from the majority were right to give expression to their opinions.

In June, 1778, the letters of Horace Walpole to his correspondent Mr. Mason[2] contain the most virulent abuse of the Archbishop, with reference to the sermon, which Walpole cannot have read any more than the Duke of Grafton, and to the attack in the House of Lords.

[1] Horace Walpole's *Last Journals*, ii, p. 277.

[2] Horace Walpole's *Letters*, vii, pp. 80, 94, 509. Mr. Mason, the friend of the poet Gray, was many years Canon and Precentor of York, and a friend of Archbishop Markham. Walpole's friendship ended in a quarrel, as it usually did.

'You know all the history of your warlike metropolitan, Archbishop Turpin. I hope he made his entrance into his capital by beat of drum. I now believe in metempsychosis, for Dr. Markham must have been in Peru when the inhabitants were boiled to make them discover their gold. We are told we are to be invaded, when your Primate may have an opportunity of exercising his martial prowess.' In another letter he attacks the Archbishop for something he was alleged to have said in a sermon he never preached at the Chapel Royal; but his correspondent detected Walpole in a fib, for the Archbishop could not have been preaching at the Chapel Royal at the time stated [1].

It is difficult to account for the extreme bitterness of Horace Walpole in making these foolish attacks, except that he hated bishops, hated Christ Church, and hated any friend of Lord Mansfield; and Dr. Markham thus came in for a treble share of his venom. The attacks on the sermon, which was so grossly misrepresented, would not have been worth noticing, if they had not been repeated with embellishments by later writers. The remarks in the House of Lords and the sneers of Horace Walpole were based on the false assumption that the sermon was violently bellicose and aggressively High Church. It was nothing of the kind, and those who attacked the writer cannot have read the sermon. They spoke and wrote from hearsay.

The Gordon Riots took place in 1780, and the

[1] April 14, 1781. Walpole's *Letters*, viii, p. 26. The Archbishop was in Yorkshire.

Archbishop wrote a very interesting account of them to his naval son :—

'Our situation at home has been calamitous. I hope our danger is over. The same wicked faction which has been so long active in contriving the ruin of this country, has brought its design to a dreadful explosion. The pretence has been repealing part of a law made in the end of King William's reign against papists. It was thought a cruel Act at the time, carried by a faction with a small majority and much against King William's opinion. This Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Sir George Savile, and into the House of Lords by Lord Rockingham. It was supported by the corps of opposition in both Houses. Government gave way to it, but was merely passive. There is an adventurer here, who, to compliment his brother, was brought into the House of Commons by Lord North, but soon took the line of the most violent opposition. He is without fortune, was always thought a madman, but with great craft and powers of mischief—Lord George Gordon, once a lieutenant in the navy.

'He, last year, inflamed the low fanatics in Scotland to commit outrages on the houses of papists. He was not punished as he deserved, and he played the same game here. He has been about it many months, but fatally was too much despised. By a wonderful activity among Dissenters and Methodists, and by the infusion of his emissaries among the clubs and alehouses, all over London and its neighbourhood, he had persuaded his followers that the King was a papist, that the bishops were papists, and that both Houses of Parliament

were resolved to bring in popery. He had a petition signed by several thousands of the rabble, and by too many of the teachers among the Independents and Anabaptists. When it was to be presented, he assembled them in St. George's Fields, and marched through the City with blue cockades and flags, to the number of 20,000.

'I went early to the House that day to attend a Committee. I fell in with the procession at Charing Cross, was immediately insulted, and with difficulty got to the House by brisk driving, suffering only from handfuls of dirt. Many others fared much worse. Lord Mansfield would probably have been lost if I, with a few who followed me, had not sprung through the mob to his rescue[1].

'Both Houses were besieged by them, and though some of the military were at last sent for, the members were forced to sneak home by private ways and in

[1] The Archbishop was noted for his skill and pluck in the noble art of self-defence when at Westminster; and even at fifty-eight he was a match for any two of the mob. Horace Walpole wrote: 'The Archbishop of York, who was above stairs in a committee, hearing of Lord Mansfield's danger, flew down, rushed through the crowd, and carried off his friend in triumph. The Duke of Richmond told me this with great approval.'—Walpole, *Letters*, vii, p. 384; *Last Journals*, ii, p. 403.

This is what really happened. Lord Stanhope gives a very erroneous impression when he merely says, without quoting any authority, 'The Archbishop of York's lawn sleeves were "torn off and thrown in his face".'—*History*, vol. vii, ch. lxi. Jesse, in copying this misleading sentence, tries to improve upon it. He says, 'The Archbishop of York, in the midst of a storm of hisses and groans, had his lawn sleeves torn off and thrown in his face.'—Jesse's *George III*, ii, p. 268.

disguises. They that night burnt the Sardinian Ambassador's chapel and several others in different quarters. This produced a proclamation, but the next day the rioters assembled and proceeded to greater excesses. They pulled down the house of every magistrate who had acted against them. On Tuesday the sixth I had intelligence that Lord Mansfield and I were to be the next victims. I acquainted him with it, but he could not be made to believe that men could be so wicked. He said, "What had you and I to do with the Popery Bill?" I told him that it lay deeper, and that he and I were marked men, that nothing was so easy as to make the mob the instrument of private malice[1]. I applied, however, for a guard, and at about nine, forty men were sent, twenty for Lord Mansfield and twenty for me, with a young ensign. If he could have been persuaded to take them into his house we should both have been safe; but those whom I found with him had given an opinion that the intelligence might probably be false, and that his having soldiers might provoke

[1] Lord Mansfield and the Archbishop lived in Bloomsbury Square. In the evening of the second day's riot, some of the Middlesex magistrates waited on the Lord Chief Justice, and found him in conference with the Archbishop of York. They announced that the avowed intention of the mob was to attack his house and burn it down, humbly tendering their assistance and advice. Lord Mansfield asked the Archbishop what he intended to do. His Grace replied, 'To defend myself and my family in my own mansion while I have an arm to be raised in their defence.' The reply was, ''Tis nobly said, but while an Archbishop, like a true church militant, is strong enough to protect himself, a feebler and an older man must look up to the civil power for protection.'—Halliday's *Life of the Earl of Mansfield.*

an attack which was not intended. They were accordingly marched off as far as Bloomsbury Church to be there in readiness, and some justices promised that they would be with us in a moment if necessary, but when they were wanted they were not to be found. They were most of them frightened out of their wits, as some of their houses had already been burnt for having acted. I must tell you too that a fatal error had prevailed among the military, that they could not in any way act without the orders of a civil magistrate, which is the case when a great mob has assembled but has not yet proceeded to acts of violence; but when they have begun to commit felonies, any subject, and the military among the rest, is justified, in common law, in using all methods to prevent illegal acts.

'As to myself, the first step I took in the evening was to send away the young children. All went except your mother and Harriette[1], who could not be prevailed upon to leave me. I determined to defend my house, and had laid my plans. I had provided some additional arms, the servants seemed hearty, your uncle[2] and his man were with me, two servants of the Chief Baron, and some of the neighbours. In this situation we continued until half-past twelve, when the mob came with great shouts and flags. They stopped at my house to say that I was next, and that when they had done their business at the corner, they should come to me. O my dear Jack, I had that moment many wishes that you were by my side. Lord and Lady Mansfield, and

[1] His eldest daughter.

[2] His brother George.

the two Miss Murrays, had just time to get out of the house, and in a few minutes we heard the crash of demolition. The furniture was soon out of the windows, and an immense fire blazed at the corner of the square, into which we saw pictures, books, harpsichords, and birthday suits of the ladies thrown indiscriminately. At this time our forty men had come to my door. I tried to persuade their officer to act on the authority of an honest constable whom I had in the house. I offered to indemnify him to any amount, but to no purpose. Between four and five another party arrived, and with them a magistrate who ordered them to fire. Six or seven men were killed, and the mob in a great measure dispersed. The officer then, for what reason I do not know, thinking his business was over, marched away all the soldiers. The mob returned in a quarter of an hour, and, with fireballs and tow, set Lord Mansfield's house in a blaze, almost in an instant. By this time the mob was immense, the square full, partly with thieves of the town, and partly with spectators. Consider our situation at that moment, the soldiers gone, and the rioters enraged by what they had done. Consider the situation of your mother and sister, who heard them for many hours under the windows swearing that though Lord Mansfield had escaped I should not. We saw a number of well-dressed men directing the mob, and heard the reports that were brought in to us by those who had mixed with the mob, that they said to them, "You stay too long here, you forget the Archbishop. Come, my lads, that one house more and then to bed."

'Hearing all this they thought of nothing but my safety. Your uncle joined with them, and they begged and prayed that I would go by the back door into Colonel Goldsworthy's and let the servants remove my papers and most valuable furniture.

'I complied, but the difficulty was how to make our escape. The stable-yard was full of rioters, who had been drawn there by the body of a woman who had been killed by the firing, and carried to the alehouse which opens into the yard. There was no way left but to pass through the square. I accordingly covered my purple coat with your uncle's great-coat, and took his hat, and watching a favourable opportunity when the most active of the rioters ran up to the first blaze of Lord Mansfield's house, walked out of Colonel Goldsworthy's door with your mother on one arm and Harriette on the other, to Mr. Wilmot's at the corner, where the door was opened to receive us. The Chief Baron's coach soon came into Mr. Wilmot's stable-yard. We then got in and passed with quick driving to the Adelphi. In doing this we had various perils; particularly from a rascally hackney coachman, who called to the mob from his box: "The Archbishop of York is in that coach with the blind up. He has another hat on, but I saw his face." They afterwards threatened Mr. Wilmot to have his house down, for having harboured me.

'When I got to the Adelphi I soon received many invitations to go to houses both in town and country, among the rest from Sir Charles Gould[1], saying he had

[1] Sir Charles Gould was Judge Advocate and Judge Marshal of

a good apartment at the Horse Guards at our service, and that we could nowhere be safer. Here then your mother and I are lodged, and shall continue to be until we go to Yorkshire.

'On the next day, Wednesday the seventh, the rioters grew more daring and outrageous. Their first attack was upon Newgate, the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, Clerkenwell, and Bridewell, in which they succeeded. They were all burnt, and, strengthened by the number of desperate ruffians whom they let loose, they made a regular attack upon the Bank, and meant to destroy the East India House, Excise Office, all other public offices, Inns of Court, and all other places where records or public accounts were kept. All this night twenty-five fires were blazing in different parts of the town, and if there had been a breath of wind the whole had probably gone. But the King had by this time given many seasonable orders to the military officers to act as occasion required, without waiting for a magistrate. The effect was answerable; the rioters were attacked in many places, many hundreds were killed, the hospitals were filled with the wounded, and some hundreds lost their lives in being buried in the ruins, and likewise by intoxication, especially at two great distilleries which they burnt. We have been quiet since. Both Houses of Parliament have been unanimous in strong and dutiful addresses. Lord George Gordon is in the

the forces. He was knighted in 1779, and created a Baronet in 1792. He married the heiress of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, and took the name of Morgan, dying in 1806. The first Lord Tredegar was his grandson.

Tower. Moore and other traffickers in sedition are in prison. Wilkes has been acting an honest part with great zeal, and has really been useful.

'No mob acted without a number of well-dressed men to direct them. Two were this day dug out of the ruins of a house where they ran from the military, although the house was burning. One had ruffles, with a large diamond at his shirt breast; the other very well dressed, with a plan of London in his pocket. It was publicly talked of at the Hague, Amsterdam, and Paris that London would be in ashes on June 8. It ought to be known in honour of the Duc de Chartres[1] that, when a bet was offered in his company, he said, "No one could bet upon such a subject, who did not know something about the business, and if he did know he was a villain, and ought not to be suffered in the company of gentlemen."'

After the Gordon Riots the Archbishop left Bloomsbury Square in 1783, and henceforward, until his death, his Grace's town residence was No. 76 South Audley Street. He was very happy in his family. His eldest son went out to India as private secretary to Warren Hastings in 1777. His second son was a promising naval officer, his third was in Holy orders, his fourth was in the army in India, the two youngest were then at Christ Church. All had been boys at Westminster. His eldest daughter was married in 1784 to Mr. Ewan Law, an Indian judge, elder brother of the first Lord

[1] This was Philippe Egalité. He was Duc de Chartres until the death of his father in 1785.

Ellenborough. The rest were at home, six girls[1]. The youngest was an infant when they went to South Audley Street.

The Archbishop often visited his old haunts at Westminster, and seldom missed the Play. He was one of the trustees of Dr. Busby's charities for many years. He was frequently consulted by his successors, especially by his old pupil Dr. Vincent, the eminent comparative geographer, who was head master of Westminster from 1788 to 1802.

Soon after Vincent assumed office, and when men were much wanted for the navy, a party of the big boys dressed themselves up as a pressgang and stationed themselves at the corner of Abingdon Street. They were led by a stout lad in a pea jacket and a hairy cap, who had acquired the art of making a 'catcall' by whistling through his fingers. They promptly pounced on the first passer-by, and after examining him and passing him as a fit young man to serve His Majesty, dexterously loosed their hold of him, and then enjoyed the fun of seeing him race away as for life or death, hastened by the shrill whistle of the pretended lieutenant. This amusement progressed prosperously with about five victims in succession. But just as the last had taken to his heels, Wingfield, the under master, walked right into the middle of the pressgang.

The next morning they were all 'shown up'. Dr. Vincent said the case was so very serious that he would

[1] Elizabeth (Mrs. Barnett), Alicia (Mrs. Mills), Georgina, Frederica (Countess of Mansfield), Anne, Cecilia (Mrs. Goodenough).

not trust himself to deal with it until he had had time to consider what course he should take, intimating a doubt whether he should expel them all or some only. While Dr. Vincent was deliberating the question in his own mind, Archbishop Markham happened to call, and asked his successor how he was getting on. 'Oh,' said Vincent, 'I am in great trouble; such a sad and serious occurrence has taken place.' Then he told the story. 'That was a very smart piece of fun,' exclaimed the Archbishop, and he burst into an uncontrollable fit of laughter, saying, 'now do show me the hairy cap.' His Grace's tone at once showed Dr. Vincent how wrong an estimate he had made of the gravity of the situation. At evening school he called up the delinquents, and merely told them each to learn some lines of Virgil by heart.

In 1787 the second batch of bishops in the United States[1] were consecrated by Archbishops Moore and Markham. They were Dr. Samuel Provost of New York, and Dr. William White of Pennsylvania. Dr. Markham had welcomed the American Episcopalians very cordially. Ten years had elapsed since he preached the sermon against the rebellion. The course of events had made a corresponding change in his opinions. He had come to see that disaffected and disloyal colonies would only be a source of weakness, while there was hope in the young republic. He trusted that the consecrations would be the commencement of a long period of prosperity for the Church in America. The name of Dr. Markham is still remembered by Episcopalians

[1] The first were consecrated by Scottish bishops.

in the United States, as that of one of the consecrators of their first bishops.

The Archbishop formerly had some personal interest in the colonies. His father, for his services, had received a grant of 5,000 acres in Tryon county, New York Colony. The Archbishop, for the benefit of his soldier brother, Colonel Enoch Markham, obtained a further grant of 15,000 acres on April 5, 1774, in the names of his brothers. In June, 1792, the Archbishop and his brothers signed a deed transferring this property to Captain John Markham, R.N., the Archbishop's second son, who made some inquiries about it, during a tour he undertook in Canada and the United States in that year. He found that, after the independence, the lands of loyal people were so loaded with taxes as to render them of no value, and were then sold, bit by bit, for arrears of quit-rents. Several thousand acres had been sold, on this pretence, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per hundred acres. He ordered the rest to be sold, but never got a farthing from it. While he was making these inquiries news came of his brother David's return from India, having been badly wounded. He hurried home, and quite forgot all about the wretched land and the fraudulent quit-rents. The matter became a joke in the family; the Archbishop saying that, like the Cappagh estate, the loss would be a blessing in disguise.

The year 1787 was memorable for the opening of the trial of Warren Hastings in Westminster Hall. For some years previously attacks had been made on the Governor-General, and the Archbishop's eldest son had

written home very able letters to refute them. In a letter from Mr. Barwell [1] to Warren Hastings, dated February 1, 1782, he writes: 'My old acquaintance, the Archbishop of York, called upon me two days ago, with a letter from his eldest son William [2]. Regarded as a composition, it was eloquent; as the effusion of a heart overflowing with honest indignation, matchless. The old man was in rapture, and dwelt upon it with that sedate dignity which marks his character and commands respect [3].'

The Archbishop detested unjust persecution, and was exceedingly well informed respecting the administration of Warren Hastings in India. Consequently the intimacy with Burke, which had existed ever since the great orator came to London as a very young man, now ended. Burke looked upon those who differed from him on public grounds as personal enemies; and he was too violent and extravagant in his abuse of the great statesman to make it possible for the friends of the Governor-General to hold further intercourse with his persecutor. Yet there was a kindly interchange of letters on young Richard Burke's death in 1794, a youth so devotedly loved by his father, and to whom his godfather the Archbishop had also been attached from his childhood.

On one occasion, during the almost interminable trial, the Archbishop lost his patience. It was on May 25,

[1] The Member of Council at Calcutta, who at last turned the scale against the Francis clique.

[2] William left India and returned to England in November, 1783.

[3] *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey* by his son, p. 251.

1793, when Burke was cross-examining Mr. Auriol with great severity and at considerable length. The Archbishop of York rose and said, with much feeling, that 'it was impossible for him silently to listen to the illiberal conduct of the examiner; that he was examining the witness as if he was examining not a gentleman, but a pickpocket; that the illiberality and inhumanity of the managers, in the course of this long trial, could not be exceeded by Marat or Robespierre, had the conduct of the trial been committed to them[1].'

Nothing aroused the Archbishop's indignation so surely as bullying and unfair treatment of an honest witness. When the long trial at length came to an end, some debates took place in the House of Lords, previous to the acquittal. On March 23, 1795, there were some questions of account which were fully explained by Lord Thurlow. Yet the Chancellor, Loughborough, began to make disgraceful insinuations respecting some petty items. Then the Archbishop rose, and with the honest indignation he always felt when anything of a mean or oppressive character was in agitation, he said with justifiable warmth, 'In my time I have been a considerable reader of ancient history, and the present conversation reminds me of the case of Cato the Censor, one of the most honest and best men that the Roman republic produced. That great man, after having filled the first offices of the state with the highest reputation, was impeached. He

[1] Mill's *British India*, v, bk. vi, ch. ii, p. 198. Mr. Auriol was related to the Archbishop's old friend and predecessor Dr. Drummond.

was attacked by a factious demagogue of the day relative to the item of an account. When last impeached he was eighty years of age, and he reminded his persecutors that a generation of men which had not witnessed his services were prosecuting him for trifles. What is the case of Mr. Hastings? No consideration for his high character, no consideration for his special services, for the esteem, love, and veneration in which he was held by the millions he governed for so many years. No, my Lords! he is treated, not as if he were a gentleman whose case is before you, but as if you were trying a horse-stealer.'

Warren Hastings thought the debates in the House of Lords on the evidence delivered in his trial, including the Archbishop's speech, as well as the proceedings of the East India Company in consequence of his acquittal, to be of such importance that he printed and distributed several hundred copies in a handsome quarto volume. In sending a copy to the Archbishop's eldest son, who had been his private secretary in India, he wrote :—

'I desire you to receive and to perpetuate the possession of it in your family, if not as a pledge, yet with the assurance of my most affectionate attachment, and in grateful recollection and acknowledgement that I owe to you a very large portion of the best sentiment which blended itself with my acquittal, not only in the minds of my judges, but in the hearts of all who heard your evidence in my defence. Do not misconceive me. I do not, nor ought I to thank you for that evidence, but I may surely avow a sense of gratitude for the manner in which the most emphatic part of it was

delivered; and which manifested that your heart feelingly accorded with the declaration made under the sanction and obligation of an oath.'

The Archbishop did not often take part in debates in the House of Lords. When he did it was on some point that particularly interested him, and then he spoke with a concise nervousness of style, of which the short speeches at the trial of Warren Hastings are examples.

He did not escape the cowardly slanders of the Probationary Odes any more than other distinguished men of that time [1].

[1] *Rolliad* (1795), pp. 372–80; *Wraxall's Memoirs*, ii, p. 32.

CHAPTER IV

DEATH OF DAVID.—MARRIAGES OF CHILDREN.—SOCIETY AT BISHOPTHORPE.—LINES BY LORD CARLISLE.—SOCIETY AT SOUTH AUDLEY STREET.—AFFECTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—DR. PARR ON THE ARCHBISHOP.—ESTIMATES OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S CHARACTER BY OTHERS.—DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP.—FUNERAL.—LINES ON HIS DEATH.—TOMB.—PORTRAITS.—WIDOW.—REPLY TO DETRACTORS.—THE ARCHBISHOP'S CHARACTER.

THE Archbishop was peculiarly happy in his domestic relations. All his thirteen children turned out well, and he only lost two during his long life. One daughter, Georgina, died at the age of twenty, in May, 1793; and his gallant son David fell in action two years afterwards.

David Markham was born in 1766, and distinguished himself at Westminster and Christ Church; but he left Oxford to enter the army in 1785. He went out to India and led the forlorn hope at the siege of Bangalore, when he was severely wounded, and invalided home in 1792, as a brevet-major. While he was at home his portrait was painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence. In the end of 1793 he went out to the West Indies as Lieut.-Colonel of the 20th Regiment; and in September, 1794, he was sent from Port Royal to join the unfortunate expedition to San Domingo.

On March 26, 1795, Colonel Markham led his regiment to the assault of a redoubt near Port-au-Prince, and fell dead, nearly cut in two by a cannon-ball, in the moment of victory. 'But victory,' says Bryan Edwards[1], 'was dearly obtained by the loss of so enterprising and accomplished a leader. It affords some consolation to reflect that those brave young men, cut off in the bloom of life, fell on the field of glory, nobly exerting themselves in the service of their country, and dying amidst the blessings and applause of their compatriots.'

David Markham was only twenty-eight when a soldier's death closed his brief but glorious career[2]. Captain John Markham arrived at Cape Nicholas Mole, in command of the *Hannibal*, in June, and heard of his brother's death. He wrote home to the Archbishop, who had already received such consolation as the high praise of men in authority could give, from a letter from General West Hyde, Colonel of the 20th. He wrote :—

'It is a consolation to recollect and record his virtues, and whether we consider his public or private character he was equally the admiration of all who knew him. He had acquired the utmost reputation as an officer. With the utmost truth I may affirm that I never knew a man more universally beloved, nor an officer more generally regretted. I have often reflected on the great similarity between the characters of Wolfe

[1] *History of the West Indies*, vol. iii, chap. xi, p. 180 (3rd ed., 1801).

[2] He continued to be a good Latin scholar and versifier, like his father, to the last.

and your son, both Lieut.-Colonels of the 20th. Alas! the similarity is now fatally completed. Both died, as they both had lived, with honour to themselves, with honour to their profession, and the loss of both deplored by their country.'

One place was to remain unfilled by the hearth at Bishopthorpe. The bright young life was extinguished. The well-loved face was never to be seen again. This deep abiding sorrow had fallen upon the venerable Archbishop and his family. Miniatures were painted from the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, for each of David's brothers.

Some marriages of children of the Archbishop followed on this great sorrow. His eldest son William was seated at Becca Hall near Aberford. On August 20, 1795, he had married Elizabeth, daughter of Oldfield Bowles of North Aston in Oxfordshire, who was a neighbour in South Audley Street when in London. Mr. Bowles was an accomplished amateur artist, and an intimate friend of Sir George Beaumont. In the following year two other sons were married. Captain John Markham, R.N., was married by Dr. Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Lambeth Chapel, to the Honourable Maria Rice, daughter of the Archbishop's old friend, George Rice, of Newton, and of Cecil, Baroness Dynevor in her own right. Robert Markham, afterwards Rector of Bolton Percy, and Archdeacon, married Frances, daughter of Sir Gervase Clifton, of Clifton. In 1797 the Archbishop's fifth daughter, Frederica, became engaged to the third Earl of Mansfield. Letters of congratulation came from the Prince of

Wales on May 3, from King George III and the Duke of York on May 8, and they were happily married on September 16, 1797 [1].

The Archbishop devoted his time to the work of his extensive diocese, and Bishopthorpe was a centre of hospitality. He was deeply interested in the history and antiquities of his four beautiful minsters at York, Southwell, Ripon, and Beverley, and liberally contributed to their maintenance and repair. He took a special interest in Southwell; and in 1787, Mr. W. D. Rastall dedicated his work on that beautiful old church to the Archbishop [2]. He contributed largely towards the restoration of Queen's College, Oxford, of which he was Visitor. His name is also enrolled as one of the benefactors of the Bodleian Library.

The clergy of the diocese, Yorkshire neighbours, literary men and artists, numerous old friends, and the friends of the Archbishop's sons were constantly enjoying the hospitality of Bishopthorpe. In 1789 Lord Wycombe, the eldest son of the Earl of Shelburne, was there, planning a projected Russian tour with Captain Markham. The letters mention many other visits: among them Mrs. John Markham writes of one 'from Lady Grantham and her two sons; the eldest, one of the finest boys I ever met. He is about sixteen,

[1] Osborne, the Archbishop's youngest son, was a barrister. He married first, in 1806, Lady Mary Thynne, daughter of the Marquis of Bath. She died in 1814, leaving two children. He married secondly, in 1822, Martha Ricketts, niece and heiress of Earl St. Vincent, who took the name of Jervis.

[2] *History of the Antiquities of Southwell*, by W. D. Rastall (folio), 1787.

very good-looking, sensible, and pleasant[1]'. Sir William and Lady Milner of Nun Appleton, and other neighbours, often came to dinner; and the old Dean of York[2], Canon Kelly and his daughters[3], and others connected with the Minster were constant visitors. One very old friend was Dr. Jubb, an old schoolfellow at Westminster. He became Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, dedicating his inaugural lecture to the Archbishop, and a Canon of Christ Church. In 1781 he was appointed Chancellor of York, and died in 1787.

The character of the head of a family is shown by the society which he creates around him, happy and cheerful or the reverse. Bishopthorpe, on the authority of many contemporary letters, was the happiest home and the most pleasant and hospitable house in Yorkshire. The following is an extract from one such letter:—'Yesterday Lord and Lady Mansfield arrived looking so well and happy. It is quite pleasant to see them. In the evening she sits down to the harpsichord. There never was a pleasanter house than this. Now Fred[4] is here they dance reels, and I join them when they want to make up a set.'

[1] The eldest was afterwards Earl De Grey. The younger became Chancellor of the Exchequer with the nickname of 'Prosperity Robinson', then Prime Minister as Lord Goderich, Earl of Ripon, and the first President of the Royal Geographical Society.

[2] Old Dean Fountayne died in 1802, and was succeeded by Dr. George Markham, Rector of Stokesley, the Archbishop's third son.

[3] The Archbishop's daughter Anne left legacies to the Miss Kellys.

[4] The Countess of Mansfield.

At Bishopthorpe, in those days, there was religious feeling and observance without ostentation, while innocent enjoyment of agreeable society was encouraged, and the Archbishop's simple-minded desire to infuse happiness around him put every one at their ease. His Grace thus acquired considerable influence, always used for good objects, and he was most popular.

On the occasion of his having put up an iron railing to preserve the tomb of Archbishop Grey from injury [1], the Earl of Carlisle wrote the following letter and sonnet. They are inserted to show the respect and affection in which the Archbishop was held by his neighbours in Yorkshire.

'Castle Howard,
August 8, 1804.

'My Lord,

'The sight of the elegant iron railing which your Grace's liberality has supplied to the tomb of Archbishop Grey produced the enclosed lines. If they have any merit it is that of sincerity, and I conceive they cannot approach you under any suspicion of flattery. In every other respect I am sensible that they stand in need of all the indulgence your Grace, in your utmost candour, can afford them.

'I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,
My Lord,
'Your Grace's most obedient faithful servant,
'Carlisle.

[1] At the same time the floriated finials above the canopy were added by Bernasconi, an eminent Italian sculptor. They are made of plaster, and are intended to represent thrushes on wool-

'On the present Archbishop enclosing the tomb of Archbishop Grey with a beautiful Gothic railing of cast iron.

From rude approach and from the touch profane
Thus generous Markham guards this crumbling fane,
Revives just praise to Grey, makes widely known
A course of liberal actions like his own;
And should a baser age unmoved survey
Our much-loved Prelate's mouldering tomb decay,
View Time's coarse hand each graceful line efface,
Nor the broad tablet to his worth replace,
Yet on the spot where once was placed his urn
Shall true religion ever weep and mourn,
A reverential awe around shall spread,
And Learning point where rests his holy head[1].'

In South Audley Street there was a succession of visitors and entertainments during the London residence. Here came old friends such as Chief Baron Macdonald, Lord Mansfield, Lord St. Vincent, Sir George Beaumont, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Parr, and many others renowned in literature and art; also the friends of the Archbishop's eldest son from India, such as Mr. Barwell; and the gallant Riou and other naval friends of his second son[2]. But the most constant

packs. The thrush was known in the north as 'the Grey bird', the supposed badge of the family of Grey. The woolpack is allusive of Archbishop Grey having filled the office of Lord Chancellor.

[1] *Fasti Eboracensis*, W. Dixon and J. Raine (1863), p. 294.

[2] See *Correspondence of Admiral Markham* (Navy Records Society, 1904), p. 417.

visitor was Dr. Cyril Jackson, the Archbishop's successor as Dean of Christ Church[1].

The Prince of Wales dined at South Audley Street occasionally, but Mrs. John Markham, the wife of the naval son, was puzzled by His Royal Highness. She wrote, 'He is so agreeable, so charming, so affectionate to the Archbishop and his family, and yet I am told how deplorable his general conduct is known to be.' In March, 1799, Hoppner painted the fine portrait of the Archbishop for the Prince of Wales, which is now at Windsor Castle.

The lasting affection of the Prince of Wales for his old preceptor is certainly one redeeming feature in his character. The following letter was written when the Prince was thirty-eight, a quarter of a century after the time when the Archbishop bore rule over him :—

'Carlton House,
December 11, 1800.

'My dear and much-loved Friend,

'It was my intention to have left London next Monday on a visit to my friend Lord Moira in Leicester-

[1] Dr. Cyril Jackson resembled Dr. Markham in the great care he took to make himself personally acquainted with the young men at his college, and their characters; and when the occasion called for it, he would behave with noble generosity to them. A promising Westminster Student was in narrow circumstances and lived accordingly. The Dean sent for him and told him that he had observed he did not live in the same style as other young men, and wished to know the reason. On its being explained, the Dean said, 'Do not let that stand in the way. Pray live like the others, and I will put so much to your credit so long as you require it.' The Dean in fact gave him an allowance till he was well started.

shire, but on receiving the Dean's letter reminding me that I had promised to go to the Westminster Play this year (which I am desirous of doing), I postponed my leaving London in the hopes of the possibility of your being so good as to give the Dean and me a dinner that day early, as I am afraid the weather is much too unfavourable to afford me any reasonable hope of the possibility of your accompanying your old and most gratefully attached pupil to that seminary over which you presided, my most admirable friend, in a manner that can never be forgotten by those who had the good fortune of being placed under your care and tutelage. With the best affection I am, my dear Archbishop, your most sincere friend,—GEORGE P.'

In September, 1806, the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence were staying with their friend Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor at Ledstone, for Doncaster races. On the twenty-ninth the Prince wrote to say that he would come to Bishopthorpe on the following Wednesday. When the carriage arrived, the venerable Archbishop, then eighty-seven, came out to receive their Royal Highnesses. The two princes ran up the steps, and went down on their knees to receive the old man's blessing, before entering the house[1].

How much Archbishop Markham was esteemed by the good and learned of his day may be seen in the following letter from the pen of Dr. Parr :—

'I scarcely recollect any one greatly distinguished in whose composition some shades of vanity were not

[1] Information from Lady Scott, who was present.

traceable. Newton and Boyle were perhaps most free. I was well acquainted with one great man who was wholly exempt from it, even to a fault—Markham, late Archbishop of York. His powers of mind, reach of thought, memory, learning, scholarship, and taste were of the very first order; but he was indolent, and his composition wanted that powerful *aiguillon*. Both in public and in private he would suffer any one to take the lead in a discussion; never on any occasion whatever did I see him *faire éclater son esprit*. He was a great reader to the last, but without any particular object of pursuit, though with an attention that nothing could disturb. I have seen him continue his studies while his youngest child was climbing about him, without the smallest interruption, except to give her a kiss, for he was most affectionate to his children.

'In his youth he was highly distinguished for the elegance of his compositions, and if the active period of youth had not been engaged in the labours of instruction, he could not have failed to raise himself a name by his pen.

'I have often heard him discuss subjects with a strength of thought and expression which would well have borne the press. Once specially when a subject occurred—the geographical changes which have taken place in the Mediterranean since the times of Homer and the early Greek authors—he grew so warm upon his subject, and was so able, so instructive, and so elegant both in thought and language, that his son George [1], who with me were the only persons present,

[1] George Markham, born 1763; at Westminster and Christ

could not help saying, "I wish, Sir, you would let me write this down." "Well, George," he replied, "you may perhaps catch me in the humour some day." But that day never arrived.'

Another friend who was fully capable, from his disposition, taste, and learning, of appreciating his Grace's fine qualities, wrote as follows :—

'The virtues of this venerable prelate were of the most amiable and benevolent kind. With great learning he was modest. Though raised to the highest station he was meek and humble. His religion was a religion of the mind, without austerity and free from ostentation. A high sense of honour and strict integrity were conspicuous in all his dealings, and his promises were unbroken. His subdued temper rendered him indulgent to the faults of others, and made him at once a companion condescending and instructive.

'He was not a florid preacher. He particularly disdained those arts by which popularity is often acquired in the pulpit; but in the exercise of his clerical functions his voice was clear, distinct, and melodious, his language remarkable for its simplicity and elegance, his sentences concise and perspicuous, and his manner, in public as in private, was animated, dignified, and persuasive.

Church; M.A., 1787; Rector of Stokesley; F.S.A.; D.D.; Dean of York, 1802–23. He was a great benefactor to York Minster, and he converted the abandoned chapel of the old palace of the archbishops into the Chapter Library. He was an excellent preacher. In 1787 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. The Dean died at Scone Palace in 1822, leaving ten children.

'With every requisite for the high station he so ably filled, Dr. Markham often seemed to show a partiality for the profession of a soldier. He probably might have taken early impressions of this nature from his father, who was highly distinguished in that profession, and to whose care and assiduity he was indebted for his first classical instruction. He no doubt possessed, in an eminent degree, those qualities which would have led to distinction in military life. His judgement was cool, his courage undaunted, his decision quick, his mind energetic, active, and enterprising; his constitution incapable of fatigue; his fortitude and patience not to be subdued; and his address and manners calculated to inspire confidence and win the hearts of men. To these we may add that his general science enabled him to form correct ideas of ancient tactics and to combine the advantages of Roman discipline with the improvements of modern art. Thus, in commenting upon the campaigns of Caesar or of Alexander, of Marlborough or of Buonaparte, he would point out with peculiar force, and singular critical ability, the errors or the wisdom of their movements.

'The same comprehensive mind made him no mean judge of agricultural pursuits; and he would not unfrequently lament that the writers on those interesting topics were, in general, so ignorant of Greek and Roman classics; while a good-natured smile might be seen to play round his countenance, at hearing them usher in, with all the parade of discovery, a practice which Theophrastus or Columella had enforced ages ago, or which even the illustrious Mantuan bard had more

widely diffused in the captivating language of didactic poetry.

'In all relations of life this truly great man was peculiarly happy. As a husband he was beloved, as a father revered, as a master served with affection; as a patron and benefactor his bounties were felt and gratefully acknowledged. His domestic establishment was princely but unostentatious, and his hospitality unbounded.

'By his generous and assisting hand the churches of York, Southwell, and Ripon were repaired, ornamented, and beautified. In the exercise of his ecclesiastical power his ear was open to fair and candid representation. Thus, through an extensive diocese his clergy looked up to him with respect and deference, and all listened to him with love and admiration[1].'

Mr. Ward, in *Tremaine*, wrote: 'Dr. Markham, the late Archbishop of York, so venerable, so learned, so liberal, so kind. It is difficult to name the memory that is so much and so fondly cherished by the friends, young and old, who survive him[2].'

'The great features in the character of this distinguished prelate,' says Charles Phillimore, 'seem to have been strict honesty, and a high sense of honour, joined with modesty and simplicity.'

The letters of his daughter-in-law Maria[3], who came

[1] *Globe*, Nov. 8, 1807, copied in the *Annual Register*, xlix, p. 789. In 1787 the Archbishop published some discourses on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

[2] *Tremaine, or the Man of Refinement*, 3 vols. (1825), i. 109 (*n.*).

[3] The Hon. Mrs. John Markham, sister of Lord Dynevor.

into the family in 1796, show the love and veneration felt by those who were near and dear to the Archbishop. After a conversation with her father-in-law in 1798, she wrote: 'This conversation struck me with wonder that he should have so clear a mind at his time of life, so cheerful, so soft and mild, yet so firm and manly. I look at him and say to myself, "May I and my husband, when we grow old, surrounded by our children, make their delight and happiness as he does ours."' In another letter she wrote: 'There never was such a man as the Archbishop, so cheerful and so mild, so slow to censure others. If any one is blamed he always tries to find an excuse for him. With all his learning and knowledge I always find so much diffidence in his own opinions. What a happy creature I am to have such an adopted father! Just before supper to-day he took me to the parlour window, to show me how uncommonly bright the stars were. He pointed out several I did not know before. I look at him really more and more with astonishment and admiration.' She pronounced the portrait by Hoppner at Windsor Castle to be charming and very like.

The Archbishop lived to a good old age. In the spring of the year 1807 he reached his eighty-eighth birthday, but still continued to perform the duties of his diocese. In the autumn he came up to London with his family. He died at his house in South Audley Street, on November 3, 1807. His wife, his sons John, Robert, and Osborne, and his daughters Anne[1]

[1] Anne was born in 1778, and died unmarried in October, 1808, just a year after her father.

and Cecilia[1] were at the bedside, and could hardly tell the moment when he breathed his last. His second son, Admiral John Markham, arrived from the country just in time to clasp his revered father's hand. Lady Mary Markham[2], the wife of Osborne, Elizabeth, daughter of his third son, George, Dean of York, and Josephine Chapuis[3], were in the dressing-room when Cecilia came to tell them. Mrs. John Markham, sister of Lord Dynevor, arrived soon afterwards. 'How happy a conclusion of a most virtuous life!' she wrote. On the sixth the eldest son, William, and his wife arrived from Becca[4], and on the seventh the Dean of York reached London from Stokesley. On the thirteenth Lord and Lady Mansfield[5] arrived from Scotland.

The Dean of York read prayers to the family on the eighth. 'A most affecting sight,' wrote Mrs. John Markham; 'the widow, her ten children, and six of her

[1] Cecilia, Mrs. Goodenough, was born in 1783. She died, aged eighty-one, in 1865, the last survivor of the Archbishop's children.

[2] Daughter of the Marquis of Bath.

[3] The Archbishop's daughters found a little French girl, who had been landed and brought to London, quite destitute, during the Reign of Terror. The name was on her clothes, but her relations could never be traced. They persuaded their father to allow them to adopt her. Her greatest friend was Elizabeth, the Archbishop's granddaughter.

[4] The Archbishop's eldest son, after his return from India, bought the estate of Becca, near Aberford, in Yorkshire.

[5] Frederica, the Archbishop's fourth daughter, married the third Earl of Mansfield in 1797. She died in April, 1860. The Countess of Mansfield was the last survivor of the Archbishop's children but one, and the transmitter of many family traditions.

grandchildren all assembled in the drawing-room to hear the morning service read. The best of husbands and fathers in his coffin, in the bedroom opposite.'

'On November 11,' she continues, 'at eight o'clock in the morning the sons assembled in South Audley Street to pay the last duty to their father, and attended his remains to the north cloister of Westminster Abbey, where he was to be buried near his father and his two brothers. They went in six mourning coaches, and six carriages of various friends. They stopped in Dean's Yard, at the cloister entrance, and walked round to the grave on the north side of the cloisters of the old Abbey Church.

'The mourners included five sons, the eldest, William Markham of Becca, the Admiral, the Dean of York, the Archdeacon, and Mr. Osborne Markham; two sons-in-law, Mr. Ewan Law and Mr. Barnett, the Rev. R. P. Goodenough, soon to be a son-in-law[1]; the executors, Dr. Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Batt; Dr. Carey, head master of Westminster, and eleven grandchildren.' Of these William Law was a Student at Christ Church, Edward Law was a monitor of Westminster School: the others were William Markham's son William[2], the Dean's son George, the Admiral's sons John and Rice, the Archdeacon's son Robert, Ewan Law, John Barnett, and William Mills. The service was performed by Dr. Vincent, the Dean of Westminster. The Arch-

[1] Married to Cecilia Markham on December 6, 1808.

[2] The late Colonel William Markham of Becca, then aged eleven, born 1796, died 1852.

bishop had expressed a wish to be buried in the cloister, by the side of his father.

The Play at Westminster in 1807 was *Eunuchus*, and the death of Archbishop Markham was lamented in the prologue, which was spoken by Thomas Clayton Glyn, nephew of Sir Richard Carr Glyn, Bart.

Prologue of the Eunuchus, 1807.

Fausta revertatur veteres quae hac nocte patronos
Convocat ad notas scena hodierna fores;
Stetque precor communi omnes qui foedere nectit
Morisque atque Laris relligiosus amor.
Fas alii culpent quod legibus usa receptis
Praescriptas servet nostra Thalia vices,
Dum labor hic noster nondum fastidia vobis
Afferat aut vestra sit cariturus ope.
Hinc pietas vetus illa loci memor, hinc magis illa
Firmantur cari vincla sodalitii;
Atque ea praeteritae toties quae scena juventae[1]
Admonet hoc ipso plus repetita placet.
Ecquis non recolit sibi quantam hic ipse suisque
Laudem olim tulerit laetitiamque labor?
Cui non deliciae veteres innubila vita
Caraque convictus dulcis imago redit?
Cara, opto, redeat semper, laetoque suorum
Haec semper plausu festa theatra sonent.
Acrior hinc dum nota oculis circumspicit ora
Fidenti prodit vultu animoque puer—

[1] So Lord Byron:—

'Dear the schoolboy spot
We ne'er forget, though there we are forgot.'
Don Juan, Canto i. 126.

Quid loquor? haud istis animis, quibus ante solebat,
Hos lusus pubes officiosa parat;
Aspicite hanc scenam! cui non sanctissima mentem
Extincti nuper tangit imago senis!
Illius hoc ipso in coetu venerabilis olim,
Qui nostrum facili laude juvabat opus;
Respicere haud alio nostrûm quem quisque solebat
Quam quo dilectum filius ore patrem!
Ergo etiam te nostra, tuas has inter Athenas,
Sancte senex, nostrae luxque paterque domûs,
Abreptum sequitur pietas, et postera pubes
Virtutes nostro discet ab ore tuas:
Busbeiique tuum cum magno nomine junctum [1]
Murraeique tui nomine, nomen erit:
Hic semper venerandus eris, nostrique minores
Majores nostri quem coluere, colent [2].

[1] Archbishop Markham was the fourth head master from Busby. Lord Mansfield was captain of his election in 1718, the Archbishop in 1734, Lord Mansfield's nephew David Murray, seventh Lord Stormont, in 1740, and the Archbishop's eldest son William in 1773.

[2] The caste for the *Eunuchus* in 1807 was as follows:—

Phaedria.	John Bull, afterwards Canon of Christ Church.
Parmeno.	Edward Law, the Archbishop's grandson.
Thais.	Granville Vernon, son of the Archbishop's successor.
Gnatho.	R. V. Richards, afterwards a King's Counsel.
Chaerea.	E. M. Salter, afterwards a clergyman.
Thraso.	Augustus Pechell.
Pythias.	John H. Randolph, Rector of Sanderstead.
Chremes.	John Griffith, Eighth Wrangler, went to China with Lord Amherst.
Dorias.	Alexander Mure.
Dorus.	Richard Lifford, died of his wounds in Portugal, 1809.
Sanga.	A. B. Townsend, clergyman.
Sophrona.	Clinton J. Fynes, M.P. for Aldborough, 1826–31.
Laches.	R. S. B. Sandilands, 1827–45, Curzon Street Chapel.

The Archbishop's will was dated December 16, 1806, and proved November 12, 1807. He left the house in South Audley Street to his wife for her life, then to his son William; £500 and his carriages to his wife; the Irish Tontine to his daughters; two shares of £100 each in the Barnsley Canal, one to his daughter Cecilia, the other to Josephine Chapuis; East India and Bank Stock to his wife for her life, then to his son William; the pictures at Bishopthorpe to his successors as heirlooms. The rest of his property to be divided equally among his sons. Executors: Dr. Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, Francis Burton, Thomas Batt.

The Rev. H. F. Mills, the Archbishop's Chaplain, wrote the following lines at the time of his death:—

Adieu, blest shade! unequalled worth, farewell!
Free from the trammels of earth's cumbrous clay,
Thy spirit fled, in purer worlds shall dwell
And view the glories of eternal day.

Yet must thy friends, while human feelings last
And soft affections move their bosoms here,
Lament that happy hours and days are past,
Sigh for thy loss, nor blush to drop a tear.

Full oft shall fancy, wandering o'er the scene
In pensive thought, thy graceful form design,
Dwell on thy precepts and thy placid mien,
And strengthen virtue in recalling thine.

Happy, in nature's noblest cast, thy mind
Trained in strict truth, the paths of honour sought,

And perfect honour in itself combined
By practice urging what its reason taught.

Formed for the world, long shall thy friendship live;
Meek, gentle, modest, kind without control,
Slow to resent, and ready to forgive,
The storms of passion ne'er disturbed thy soul.

Rewarding Heaven crowned thy long life with joy;
Her gifts in every dear connexion came,
And human happiness, with least alloy,
Upheld thee, Markham, on the wings of fame.

Mr. Mills also wrote the following lines in memory of his venerable patron and friend:—

If e'er to number 'mongst my friends I seek
One who is learnèd, modest, kind, and meek;
Whose temper's gentle, and who soon forgives;
Who to his word is true, and ne'er deceives;
To charity alive and anger dead;
Who by religious law is ever led;—
So much in one I should despair to find,
Had I not found in Markham all combined.

An altar-tomb has been erected to the memory of the Archbishop in York Minster by his descendants: a cross on a polished flat slab with an inscription on it, and arms of the children and their marriages round the sides[1]. A brass tablet to his memory is also affixed

[1] The erection of the tomb to Archbishop Markham in York Minster is due to the piety of his grandson, the Rev. David F.

to the wall of the north cloister of Westminster Abbey.

Markham, Canon of Windsor, who collected the funds, selected the design, superintended the work, and was treasurer and secretary 1842–4. All the subscribers were relations.

Forty-five subscribers, of whom fifteen were Old Westminsters.

	£	s.	d.
1. Mrs. G. Baillie (afterwards Countess of Haddington)	5	0	0
2. Mrs. Barlow	1	1	0
3. Miss Barnett	5	0	0
4. Col. J. Barnett (o.w.)	5	0	0
5. Capt. Barnett	1	1	0
6. Wm. Barnett	5	0	0
7. Mrs. Chadwick	5	0	0
8. Lady Clerk	5	0	0
9. Mrs. Crofts	1	1	0
10. George Donkin	5	0	0
11. Lord Dynevor (o.w.)	20	0	0
12. Mrs. Eccles	2	0	0
13. Mrs. Goodenough	10	0	0
14. Capt. A. Goodenough (o.w.)	1	0	0
15. Rev. R. Goodenough (o.w.)	1	0	0
16. Lt. H. Goodenough, R.A.	1	0	0
17. Rev. E. Law, D.D. (o.w.)	2	0	0
18. Miss Law	2	2	0
19. Mrs. H. S. Law	50	0	0
20. Wm. Law (o.w.)	15	0	0
21. Countess of Mansfield	100	0	0
22. Earl of Mansfield (o.w.)	50	0	0
23. Rev. D. F. Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
24. Edward Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
25. Col. Fred Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
26. Miss Harriet Markham	5	0	0
27. John Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
28. Capt. Osborne Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
29. Rev. Rice Markham (o.w.)	5	0	0
30. Mrs. Robt. Markham	5	0	0
31. Miss Sarah Markham	5	0	0
32. Col. W. Markham (o.w.)	20	0	0
33. Mrs. Montgomery	10	0	0
34. Mrs. Mure	5	0	0
35. Lady Caroline Murray	5	0	0
36. Hon. C. Murray	2	2	0

The inscription on the tomb in York Minster is as follows:—

'Gulielmus Markham antiqua stirpe de Markham et Cotham in agro Nottingamae ortus, quondam Aed. Christi Decanus, deinde Episcopatu Cestriensi consecratus, demum ad Archiepiscopatum Ebor. translatus. Obiit A. D. MDCCCVII aet. suae LXXXVIII et in prec^{tis} Eccl. St. Petri Westmonasteriens. Sepult.'

The brass in the north cloister of Westminster Abbey bears the following inscription:—

'M. S.

'Wilhelmi Markham D.C.L. quem A. ÆC. MDCCXXXVIII ex inclytae hujus Scholae alumnis regis Aedes Christi apud Oxonienses suis ordinibus inscripsit. Mox eundem MDCCLIII Westmonasteriensibus suis Archididasculum

	£	s.	d.
37. Lady Eliz. Murray	5	0	0
38. Lady G. Murray	5	0	0
39. Mrs. Nesfield	5	0	0
40. Lady Emily Seymour (Marchioness of Hertford)	5	0	0
41. Mrs. Sharp	1	0	0
42. James B. Stanhope (o.w.)	2	0	0
43. Mrs. Stanhope	2	0	0
44. Mrs. C. Stansfield	5	0	0
45. Mrs. Wickham	5	0	0

Total £414 7*s*. The Huddlestone stone, from Sherburn, cost £19 8*s*. 8*d*.; the carving and black marble slab, £200; engraved brass arms and Latin inscription by Willement, £33 13*s*.; Salvin for designs, £10 14*s*.; tessellated tiles, £10 14*s*.; wood and freight, £6 14*s*. 7*d*. With the balance of £38 the memorial brass was put up in the north cloister of Westminster Abbey. The tomb was designed by Salvin, and the brass work by Willement. Total cost of the tomb, £376 7*s*.; of the brass at Westminster, £38; grand total, £414 7*s*.

redonavit, eundem quoque interposita XIV annorum mora Decanum sibi habuit et laeta lubensque ad se recepit. Anno MDCCLXXI Episcopatu Cestriensi auctus est et visus est prae caeteris dignior in cujus disciplinam jubente rege optimo et bonis omnibus plaudentibus Georgius et Fredericus Principes juventutis instituendi et erudiendi traderentur. Demum anno MDCCLXXVII ad Archiepiscopatum Eboracensem erectus est. Obiit Novembris in anno MDCCCVII annum agens LXXXVIII^mum et in hoc Sepulchro juxta Patris cineres suos deponi voluit. Eodem Sepulchro conditur Sarah uxor pientissima, Marito per annos XI Superstes.'

There is a marble bust of Archbishop Markham at Christ Church, Oxford, bequeathed to the College by his widow: a replica in possession of the family; and another at Kenwood.

He was painted twice by Sir Joshua Reynolds, one portrait of the date 1768 in the Hall at Christ Church, the other (1777) at Bishopthorpe. Archbishop Harcourt used to tell rather a good story about the portrait of his predecessor by Reynolds. When he was a young man he was dining at Bishopthorpe with Archbishop Markham, and, observing that the portrait was much faded, he said to his next-door neighbour, 'Who can be the unhappy man who painted such a picture?' The reply was, 'I am that unhappy man.' The criticism seems not to have been altogether unmerited, for Sir Joshua took the picture home to retouch and improve. But it is a fine portrait[1]. A portrait in his robes by

[1] See Keble's *Bishopthorpe*, p. 84.

West is in possession of the family. Romney painted him for his daughter Mrs. Law. The best portrait, by Hoppner, is at Windsor Castle, painted in 1799. A copy was painted by his granddaughter Lady Elizabeth Murray, and was at Becca; another is in the dining-room of the house of the head master of Westminster School. His portrait is in Copley's picture of the death of Chatham painted in 1778, and now in the National Gallery. There is a miniature by Grimaldi at Morland, painted in 1796.

There are engravings from all the portraits. That from the Hoppner picture was executed by order, for George IV, and is very rare. There is one in the Common-room at Christ Church, and the King presented one to each of the Archbishop's sons. He then ordered the plate to be destroyed.

The arms of Archbishop Markham are painted on the canopy 'Up School' at Westminster, and in the window of the Chapter Library at York.

Mrs. Markham, the Archbishop's widow, went to live in a house at Mortimer Street, where she died on January 26, 1814, aged seventy-five. She was buried by the side of her husband in Westminster cloisters, on February 3[1].

[1] By her will, dated October 29, 1808, she made her son Osborne Markham and Dr. Samuel Smith her executors, leaving them each £100. Her jewels, trinkets, and laces were left to her daughters Mrs. Barnett and Mrs. Goodenough. She left a marble bust of the Archbishop to the Dean of Christ Church for the time being. The trustees under her marriage settlement were to pay, out of £7,523 Consols, to Mrs. Law £2,000, to

The narrative of the Archbishop's life speaks for itself. His character has been described by those who knew him intimately—men like Dr. Parr, Mr. Ward, and others—and the estimate they have given cannot either be improved upon or gainsaid by any more modern writer; for no modern writer can possibly speak with the same authority.

Detractors have found fault with Dr. Markham's letters in the Bedford correspondence, in which he reminded the Duke of his promise to help him in obtaining preferment after his resignation of the head-mastership of a great public school. Any reader can judge for himself. But to give prominence to these letters is to give a false view of the Archbishop's character. It is true that he took legitimate steps to obtain the headship of his old college, a very proper object of ambition. But the actual Dean, whose health was failing, and many friends connected with Christ Church, were equally desirous that he should be selected. This is the single instance of his having sought preferment. He made no application for the head-mastership, he did not offer himself as Preceptor to the princes, his selection as Bishop of Chester was a surprise and unsought, nor did he seek for the archbishopric. In all these cases the appointments

Mrs. Barnett £2,000, to Mrs. Mills £100: and out of £5,015, to the Countess of Mansfield £1,000, to Mrs. Law £1000, to Mrs. Goodenough £1,000, to Mrs. Barnett £1,015, and to her granddaughter Elizabeth Frances Markham £1,000.

Dr. Samuel Smith was head master of Westminster 1764–88, then prebendary, but he died in 1808.

were made through no efforts of his own, but by reason of his merits and fitness.

Fault has also been found with the letter to Burke, denouncing the anonymous attacks of which that politician was believed to have been the author; and it has been suggested that Dr. Markham was a man who habitually wrote in one style to great men like the Duke of Bedford, and in a very different style to less influential men. The sole ground for the accusation is that the two letters are not written in the same style. Dr. Markham wrote in a tone of deference when asking a favour from a man nine years his senior and of much higher rank. Eight years afterwards he wrote, under feelings of strong indignation, to a man ten years younger than himself, with whom he had long been on terms of intimacy, but whom he believed to have been guilty of reprehensible conduct. Of course no human being would write exactly in the same style on such different occasions.

With regard to the letter to Burke it must be remembered that it does not exist. We only have the references to and quotations (without inverted commas) from it, in Burke's draft. Still it may be admitted that, on one occasion, momentarily carried away by just feelings of indignation, Dr. Markham may have used language the strength of which was unjustifiable. The feeling itself does him credit, and Burke admitted it was 'the vehemence of mistaken zeal from which no talents will always exempt even men of piety and virtue'.

Of all things Dr. Markham detested anonymous

slander and bullying. Occasionally, but very rarely, his indignation got the better of him, as on the occasions of his letter to Burke and of his speech during the trial of Warren Hastings. But we know from authority which cannot be gainsaid that to dwell upon such exceptional occasions, as if they represented his general conduct, would be most grossly to misrepresent him. He was habitually indulgent to the faults of others, slow to censure, and if any one was blamed, his impulse was to find an excuse for him.

It is scarcely necessary to defend the Archbishop from attacks that have been made on his political opinions. He was attacked in the House of Lords and by Horace Walpole for preaching a bellicose sermon containing the doctrines of Sacheverell, which he never preached. His real sermon was moderate and not illiberal. He was attacked in the *Probationary Odes* for revelling in the plunder of Benares, an accusation which is not worth further notice. These attacks, having been read but not verified, have been the grounds for sneers and insinuations in more modern publications.

The character of a public man who lived for eighty-eight years cannot be taken away by misrepresenting an isolated sermon, or by misusing a single letter. For it is established by the whole course of his life, by his recorded acts, by the real circumstances connected with the sermon and the letters, and by the testimony of those among his contemporaries who knew him intimately. The course of his life has now been portrayed, the principal events of his long

career have been recorded, and the testimony of his contemporaries has been given. We find from this evidence a man whose great learning, ability, and special fitness alone secured him that estimation which raised him to a high position. We find a man who was totally devoid of personal vanity, and therefore of the faults which usually accompany that almost universal failing. On one or two occasions in middle life, his indignation was aroused by injustice to his friends, but his whole conduct, through a long career, showed consideration for the feelings of others, kindness of heart, and, above all, warm sympathy for the aspirations and interests of the young. He had a strong sense of duty, and in his prime, whatever he undertook to do, he did with all his might. In his declining years, when Dr. Parr knew him intimately, there were signs of relaxation of that energy which distinguished him in the prime of life, and too much disposition to show undue deference for the opinions of others. For, with all his learning and extensive knowledge, he was modest to a fault. His faults and his virtues alike endeared him to a large circle of relations and friends; and few have been so loved and respected in life, or have been so long and truly mourned for when their place knew them no more. Archbishop Markham's character was a very noble one, and though his memory might well have been allowed to rest as the precious inheritance of a few, it is still not undesirable that the story of a good and useful life should be more widely known.

June 1906 Surely more might have been made of this Head & majestic prelate?

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